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EURIPIDES

PLATE I.—EURIPIDES PRESENTS A TRAGIC MASK TO THE STAGE.
FROM A LATE RELIEF IN CONSTANTINOPLE

EURIPIDES

A STUDENT OF HUMAN NATURE

BY

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To my two Sons,

WILLIAM NICKERSON BATES, JR.

and

ROBERT HICKS BATES

This book
is dedicated

N14646

CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION xi

I THE LIFE OF EURIPIDES 1
Sources—Life—Personal Characteristics—As an Author—Portraits—Fame.

II CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRAGEDY OF EURIPIDES 22
The Technique of his Drama—The Prologues—The *Deus ex Machina*—The *Eccyclema* and Other Stage Devices—Scenery, Costuming, etc.—Dramatic Types—The Chorus.

III FURTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRAGEDY OF EURIPIDES. 36
The Child Motive—Humor.

IV THE EXTANT PLAYS 57
Alcestis — Andromache — Bacchae — Cyclops — Electra — Hecuba — Helen — Heracles Furens — Heraclidae — Hippolytus — Ion — Iphigenia among the Taurians — Iphigenia at Aulis — Medea — Orestes — Phoenissae — Rhesus — Suppliants — Troades.

V THE LOST PLAYS 202
Aegeus — Aeolus — Alcmaeon at Psophis — Alcmaeon at Corinth — Alcmena — Alexander — Alope — Andromeda — Antigone — Antiope — Archelaus — Auge — Autolycus — Bellerophon — Busiris — Chrysippus — Cresphontes — Cretans — Cretan Women — Danaë — Dictys — Epeus — Erechtheus — Eurystheus — Hippolytus Veiled — Hypsipyle — Ino — Ixion — Licymnius — Melanippe the Wise — Melanippe the Prisoner — Meleager — Oedipus — Oeneus — Oenomaus — Palamedes — Peleus — Peliades — Phaethon — Philoctetes — Phoenix — Phrixus — Pleisthenes — Polyidus — Protesilaus — Sciron — Scyrians — Stheneboea — Syleus — Telephus — Temenidae — Temenus — Theristae — Theseus — Thyestes.

APPENDIX. EURIPIDES IN THE PAPYRI 305

INDEX 309

PLATES

Page

I Euripedes presents a Tragic Mask to the Stage. From a Late Relief in Constantinople..... Frontispiece

Opposite page

II Scenes from the Medea. From an Amphora in Munich.... 154

III The Death of Creusa. From a Crater in Naples..... 162

IV Alcmena saved by Zeus. From a Crater in the British Museum..... 212

V Above Aphrodite, Eros, Peitho and Three Warriors. In Middle Register Andromeda bound to Two Trees; at Left Cassiepea and Attendants, at Right Nurse and Guards. Below Perseus slaying Sea Monster. From an Amphora in Naples..... 218

VI Heracles and Busiris. From a Caeretan Hydria in Vienna.. 235

VII Heracles and Eurystheus. From a Hydria in the Louvre... 248

VIII Ixion on the Wheel. From an Amphora in Berlin..... 256

IX Pelops and Hippodamia. From an Amphora at Arezzo.... 270

X Philoctetes in his Cave. From a Crater at Syracuse..... 281

FIGURES IN TEXT

Page

1 Hippolytus in his Chariot. From a Crater in the British Museum..... 115

2 Iphigenia gives Pylades the Letter. From an Apulian Amphora..... 142

3 The Sacrifice of Iphigenia. From an Apulian Amphora in the British Museum..... 150

4 The Death of Canace. From a Hydria at Bari..... 206

5 Heracles intercedes for Antigone. From an Apulian Amphora at Ruvo..... 221

6 At the Left, Dirce dragged by the Bull; at the Right, Lycus seized by Amphion and Zethus. From a Crater in Berlin. 224

7 Laius carrying off Chrysippus. From an Amphora in Berlin. 237

8 Hypsipyle and Archemorus. From an Amphora in the Louvre.. 253

9 The Death of Meleager. From an Amphora in Naples..... 263

Page

10 Oedipus blinded by Soldiers of Laius. From an Etruscan Urn in Florence 265
11 Diomed offers Oeneus a Sword with which to slay Agrius. From a Hydria in the British Museum 268
12 The Rejuvenation of Pelias. From a Cylix in Rome 274
13 Bellerophon receives the Tablets from Proetus in the Presence of Stheneboea. From an Amphora at Ruvo 291
14 Heracles and Syleus. From a Cylix formerly in the Campana Collection 293
15 Telephus threatens the Infant Orestes. From a Hydria in Naples 296

INTRODUCTION

The object of this book is to try to give the modern reader within reasonable compass a more accurate account and a truer appreciation of the dramatic genius of Euripides than is to be found elsewhere. Much has been published about Euripides which is sound, and, on the other hand, much which is not at all justified by the evidence. Hearsay statements have too often been treated as if they were facts and made the basis for inferences which are really unsupported. In view of this there would seem to be need for a book based directly on the Greek in which the authority for every statement made can be readily traced. It is this idea which has inspired these studies, which are in reality the result of many years work upon Euripides, and the reading and rereading of all his plays over and over again. The writer has sought as far as possible not to repeat information readily accessible elsewhere, but to give a truer perspective of the great dramatist from the original sources only.

The plan adopted has been to set forth in three preliminary chapters an account of his life and the chief characteristics of his work, and then to follow this with special studies on each of the extant plays. Some of these are longer than others because of the greater importance of certain tragedies; but in the treatment of the less conspicuous plays the writer has endeavored to give all the significant facts in regard to them. Where it seemed that translation would help to a clearer comprehension of the poet's work, translation has been added. And here it must be stated that occasionally a slight liberty has been taken with the text with the object of giving a truer idea of what the poet had in mind. For example a word or expression familiar in ancient Athens and attracting no attention may be wholly unfamiliar today, so that a literal translation of it by introducing an element lacking in the original will give a wrong idea of the passage. In

such cases, in order to prevent misconception, it is better to change to something familiar to the modern reader and thus avoid laying undue stress upon some trifle not calling for special attention.

In the translation of lyric passages there is another problem. It is a natural temptation to render the Greek choruses into English rhyming verse. This, however, introduces an element which does not exist in the Greek; and too often rhyming verse has more of the personality of the translator than of the original poet. In the discussion of one play, therefore, the *Ion*, where it seemed desirable to translate a long lyric passage, the lines have been rendered into English verse without rhyme. Where the metre used in the Greek was familiar also in English, it has been followed; but where the metre of the original was not usual in English poetry, it has been changed to some simple, but familiar, verse form. The object throughout has been to try to preserve the spirit and feeling of the text; to make it seem to the reader as the Greek seemed to the Athenian who read it in ancient times. This innovation in translating seems to be justified by experience.

So much of the drama of Euripides is preserved that we are in a much better position to give a just estimate of his work than in the case of Aeschylus or Sophocles; but his dramatic genius may be still further appreciated by a study of the fragments of his lost plays. The fragments are numerous, and important additions have been made to them in recent years through the discovery of papyri and from other sources. There are also in the literature many references to the lost tragedies. It is usually possible, therefore, even when a play is lost to recover the story upon which it was based though it may not be possible to restore the actual plot. A discussion of each of the lost dramas has, therefore, been included. They add greatly to our knowledge of the poet, particularly in regard to the range and character of his themes.

A few words are necessary in regard to the illustrations. It is a well-known fact that the Greek vase-painters, especially in

the latter part of the fifth century B.C. frequently depicted on their vases scenes which were more or less closely connected with the stage. Many of these have come down to modern times. They must not, of course, be regarded as if they were photographs of actual scenes from the drama, but rather as drawings suggested by the drama in which the artist has introduced certain elements of his own. Sometimes, too, the painter seems to have got his idea from passages in the plays not represented in the action. All of these are of considerable value, particularly in giving us hints as to the plots of lost plays and in showing how certain scenes were visualized by contemporary artists. Then there are vase-paintings which antedate the dramas, but yet are of importance in preserving the popular interpretation of certain stories and so giving us some idea of the way in which the dramatist must have represented them. This is especially true of the satyr drama. The frontispiece reproduces an interesting late relief in Constantinople. It is from a photograph procured for me years ago by the late Professor Hilprecht from Hamdy Bey, then Director of the Imperial Ottoman Museums.

In the matter of references the writer has tried to include everything of importance which might be useful to the reader in tracing the evidence for a statement; but, at the same time, he has sought to avoid the "fallacy of the footnote." Not all the books which he has consulted, therefore, are mentioned.

A list of all the papyri of Euripides published up to date has been added in an Appendix. In this are included a few new fragments not on papyrus or preserved in the literature, such as some lines on ostraka. It has not seemed worth while to include in the book a bibliography of works on Euripides as such are available elsewhere.

It is hoped that this book based on the original sources will give the reader a clearer picture of the tragedy of Euripides; that it will show him a true student of human nature; a master of stagecraft, and a great dramatic genius worthy to stand on an equality with his two great predecessors, or, perhaps we should say, older contemporaries, Aeschylus and Sophocles.

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF EURIPIDES

SOURCES—LIFE—PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS—AS AN AUTHOR—PORTRAITS—FAME

In seeking to obtain a true perspective of any great figure in the history of literature and a just appreciation of his works it is important at the beginning to find out as much as possible about his family and the conditions under which he lived. If we can learn something about his parents, what sort of people they were, what their position in the community, under what conditions they lived, how the boy was brought up, what sort of boy he was, what sort of family life he had when he came to manhood, under what conditions he wrote, how his work was received by his contemporaries, and other matters of that sort we shall be in a good position to judge what he was striving to accomplish and what success he obtained. In the case of Euripides considerable information is available, but before setting this forth it is well to consider briefly where it comes from, that we may be in a position to decide to what extent it may be relied upon.

The sources for a life of Euripides fall naturally into three groups. 1. There are the biographies which have come down from antiquity in one form or another. 2. There are various pieces of information about the poet gathered from explicit statements or casual allusions in various ancient writers. 3. There are inferences to be drawn from his own plays. These different sources furnish an amount of evidence which, when tested, yields a fairly complete and satisfactory account of the poet's life. An incident mentioned in one source and confirmed in another, if the testimony is really independent, is quite likely to be true; whereas a casual statement in an unfriendly author,

if unconfirmed, must be looked upon with suspicion. It seems advisable, therefore, to examine the three groups of sources in turn and then to set forth the results which may justly be drawn from them.

Sources

I

An ancient Γένος Εὐριπίδου καὶ βίος, commonly referred to as the *Vita* or *Life*, exists to-day in five versions in different manuscripts of Euripides.[1] This *Life* is probably based upon several ancient sources, for the names of three authorities are mentioned in it. First there is Philochorus, who is known to have written a life of Euripides which was either a separate monograph, or part of a larger work on tragedy. Our information on this point is not explicit.[2] This is probably the chief source of many of the statements about the poet which have come down to modern times. Then there is Eratosthenes who wrote a *Chronographia*, in which the important dates of Euripides as well as of other writers were recorded. The third is Hermippus of Smyrna, who published a great biographical work which included lives of famous poets and among them that of Euripides. These three writers all lived in the third century B.C. In addition to this *Life* there is a short biography in the *Lexicon* of Suidas; and another in the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius, both of which go back to the same sources as the *Life*.

Important, too, is still another source which has come to light in recent years. This is a papyrus manuscript from Oxyrhyn-

[1] It is found complete in B (Vaticanus 1345), E (Havniensis 3549), F (Vindobonensis 119) and G (Urbinas 140). A (Ambrosianus L 39) has lines 1–44; C (Palatinus 98) has lines 1–4, 9–12 and 29–42; D (Parisinus S. Genovevae 36) lacks lines 1–17; H (Vallicellanus A 25) has lines 1–5 and 71–83. E has also a brief account prefixed to the longer *Life*, and this same short life is found in Venetus 515 and Vaticanus 1363.

[2] The work is referred to, but the title not given, in Suidas, s. v. Εὐριπίδης and in Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XV, 20, 5, as well as in the *Life*. In the scholia to the *Hecuba*, l. 3 there is reference to a treatise by him Περὶ τραγῳδιῶν.

chus in the Fayûm consisting of about 750 very short lines, besides many little fragments, which had once been part of the Sixth Book of the *Biographies* of Satyrus. This we learn from the title which is still preserved and which reads Σατύρου Βίων ἀναγραφῆς ϛ· Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου. It dates from the second century A.D. and was first published by A. S. Hunt in the ninth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1912, pp. 124 ff.). Satyrus was an author who lived in the second, or possibly in the third century B.C. and, although little is known about him, his *Lives* were famous. They are repeatedly referred to by Athenaeus and by Diogenes Laertius. He was himself a native of Oxyrhynchus, where the papyrus was found. He wrote on the lives of kings, such as Dionysius the Younger and Philip; statesmen and generals, such as Alcibiades; orators, for example Demosthenes; philosophers, including Pythagoras, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Socrates and Plato; as well as on the lives of the poets.[1] The portion of the work preserved has to do with Euripides, and is in the form of a dialogue in which there were three speakers. This was clearly one of the unnamed sources of the *Life* of Euripides. It gives us some hitherto unknown facts about the poet and adds a few new fragments from lost plays. No doubt other unnamed sources were employed directly or indirectly by the anonymous author of the *Life*, but it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty what they were, or what each contributed.

II

The second group of sources calls for less comment. They are numerous and widely scattered, and altogether add considerable information about the poet and his reputation. One, however, and that not the least famous, must be used with great caution. I refer to Aristophanes. In the *Acharnians*, the *Frogs* and the *Thesmophoriazousae* Euripides is made to play an important

[1] See Hunt, *Ox. Pap.* IX, p. 126.

part and is ridiculed unmercifully. Unfortunately many writers both ancient and modern have accepted the extravagant jokes and innuendos of Aristophanes as if they were to a greater or less degree historical facts. As a result they have set forth ideas about Euripides and his tragedy which do not at all accord with information from other sources, or with his extant dramas. Aristophanes did not like the kind of tragedy which Euripides wrote, or pretended that he did not like it, and he did everything he could to cast discredit upon the plays and their author. He professed to be offended at some of the famous mythological stories which Euripides made the basis of certain of his plots, though he might with equal propriety have been offended with some of the plots of Sophocles. He objected to the costuming and the stage devices of Euripides, and to his diction. This, it is true, is not far removed from that of the best Attic prose, but it must be borne in mind that his style is never commonplace. Finally Aristophanes objected to his lyrics. Most of this criticism seems to us captious, if not unjust. It is not unlikely that the two men were personal enemies. At any rate the great master of comedy was not fair to Euripides, and he did not intend to be fair. He has, therefore, given us a portrait of him which is as far from the truth as his portrait of Socrates in the *Clouds*. All statements, then, made in the comedies of Aristophanes about Euripides or his family, statements often absurdly elaborated by the unknown writers of the scholia upon those passages, must be treated with the greatest caution, if not wholly rejected. They are responsible for many of the erroneous ideas about the poet which are so often repeated today even by people who should know better.

III

Of the third group of sources, the tragedies themselves, still less remains to be said. Here again great caution must be used. Because the poet makes a character in a certain situation express certain opinions it does not necessarily follow that the opinions

set forth are those of the poet himself. The dramatist makes his characters say what he thinks they ought to say under certain conditions, quite apart from his own individual opinion. It is only where the same ideas recur repeatedly under very different circumstances that we are justified in affirming that they represent the poet's own convictions. So, for example, when Pylades in the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (678) says that if he returns safely to Argos without Orestes the people, "for the many are base," will accuse him of contriving his friend's death to gain the royal power, his words are those which a prince might well express under the circumstances. They cannot be taken to prove that Euripides was unfriendly to democracy. Unfortunately ancient commentators, and modern, too, have sometimes been led to draw from such statements in the plays conclusions about the poet's personal opinions for which they cannot be regarded as legitimate evidence.

With these considerations in mind we may reconstruct the life of Euripides somewhat as follows.

Life

He was born on the island of Salamis in the year 480 B.C., probably on the very day of the great battle, as is stated by Plutarch and other authorities.[1] The year is so carefully given by so many ancient authorities that there seem to be no reasonable grounds for doubting its correctness, in spite of the fact that the Parian Marble gives the date as 485 B.C., the archonship of Philocrates.[2] His parents, in spite of Aristophanes, seem to have

[1] Plut. *Mor.* p. 717C, οἷον ἦν τὸ περὶ Εὐριπίδου γενέσεως καὶ τελευτῆς, γενομένου μὲν ἡμέρᾳ, καθ' ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐναυμάχουν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον. Also Suidas, s. v. Εὐριπίδης, and Hesychius Illustris, *F. H. G.* IV, p. 163. The year is also given in the *Vita*, ll. 2–4 and by Diogenes Laertius, II, 45. The day of the battle was the twentieth of the month Boedromion (Plut. *Camillus*, XIX, 5) which is calculated as the twenty-second of September.

[2] The passage reads (lines 65f.) ἀφ' οὗ Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς τραγῳδίᾳ πρῶτον ἐνίκησε καὶ Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ Στησίχορος ποιητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκετο ἔτη ΗΗΔΔΙΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Φιλοκράτους. The error may be due to a mistake in the figures made by the original transcriber. The date of the battle

been people of means and of good standing in the town of Phlya, about six miles north-east of Athens, where they lived.[1] His father's name was Mnesarchus or Mnesarchides according to Suidas, more likely the latter, which is the only name given in the *Life*, and is, besides, the name of one of his sons. His mother was named Clito.[2] As a boy he took part in a festival in honor of Delian Apollo, pouring wine for the dancers. This seems to have been an honor, and is probably evidence of the respected position of his parents in the community, for the dancers are described as being prominent Athenians.[3] We are also told that he was once torch-bearer (*πυρφόρος*) of Apollo of Zoster,[4] and perhaps this, too, was before he had grown to manhood. He had the training in athletics usual in his time and may have excelled in the pancration and boxing.[5] Nothing else is known of his early life. He seems to have begun his career as a painter, and paintings attributed to him were exhibited at Megara in later times.[6] Evidences of his artistic training have been pointed out in his tragedies by various commentators, and it may well be that the vividness of some of his descriptions is due in part to his experience as a painter.

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of Salamis is given correctly as HHΔΓII, that is to say 217 years before 263 B.C.; whereas the date of the birth of Euripides is given as HHΔΔII, or 222 years before. If we write Γ instead of Δ as the fourth figure in the numeral the date will be correct, that is, it will agree with the other evidence. The error once made would lead to the error in the archon's name.

[1] See Suidas, s. v. *Εὐριπίδης, ... καὶ γὰρ τῶν σφόδρα εὐγένων ἐτύγχανεν, ὡς ἀποδείκνυσι Φιλόχορος.* Further evidence for this is to be found in the fact that Euripides was one of the few private citizens in ancient Greece to possess a large library (Athen. 3 a), and he was called upon for costly public services (Aristot. *Rhet.* III, 15). Both of these things meant the possession of wealth, which must have come to him from his parents.

[2] See *Vita* and Suidas (s. v. *Εὐριπίδης*). The story in Suidas that they came from Boeotia or had been banished there is definitely disproved by the silence of the comic poets.

[3] Athen. p. 424 f. *τῶν πρώτων ὄντες Ἀθηναίων.*

[4] *Vita*, l. 17.

[5] *Vita*, l. 5.

[6] *Vita*, l. 17.

If we may believe Aulus Gellius,[1] Euripides began to write at the age of eighteen, and in 455 B.C., when he was twenty-five years old, he won his first chorus. This means that in that year for the first time he was permitted to compete for the tragic prize; but he was beaten by both of his competitors. His *Peliades* was one of the plays presented by him at this time.[2] He is said to have won his first victory[3] in the year 441–440, but the titles of the plays have not come down to us.

Euripides is said to have been the friend, if not pupil, of several well-known philosophers and sophists. Thus in the *Life*[4] he is called a "hearer" (ἀκουστής) of Anaxagoras, Prodicus and Protagoras, and a friend (ἑταῖρος) of Socrates. We find this statement repeated elsewhere,[5] but to what extent it is true it is not easy to find out. Prodicus and Socrates were both younger than he was so that it is extremely unlikely that he should have been a pupil of either. Anaxagoras and Protagoras were, however, older, and it is not impossible that he studied under them. Very likely he knew all of these men, for Athens in the fifth century B.C. was not so large that every literary or scholarly man in town would not know something of every other. Moreover Anaxagoras lived there for about thirty years,[6] and, as he seems to have been a man of a temperament not unlike that of Euripides, the two may well have been attracted to each other. The poet may have been influenced by the philosopher in his attitude towards life even if he were not his pupil. When, however, we come to examine the extant plays for proof of this influence we find very little evidence of it. There are, to be sure, statements in the literature that Euripides represented the theories of Anaxagoras on the stage, such as the passage in

[1] XV, 20, 4.

[2] *Vita*, ll. 30 and 21.

[3] Parian Marble, l. 75, ἀφ' οὗ Εὐριπίδης ἔτων ὢν ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ τραγῳδίᾳ πρῶτον ἐνίκησεν, ἔτη ΗΡ[ΔΔΓΙΙΙ] ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Διφί[λου].

[4] L. 9.

[5] E.g. Dion. Hal. *Ars Rhet.* IX, 11 and Gellius, XV, 20, 4.

[6] Diog. Laer. II, 3, 7.

Diogenes Laertius[1] which says that in the *Phaethon* he represented the sun as a golden mass.[2] Again, in Fragment 836 from the lost *Chrysippus* there is mention of two elements, Air and Earth, from which all living things were created; and Vitruvius[3] implies that this is a theory of Anaxagoras. But this cannot be proved; and, furthermore, Nestle has pointed out[4] that two other theories of creation may also be found in Euripides.

Furthermore if we search the plays and fragments for evidence for the most important of all his theories, the doctrine of Noûs, or Mind, which governs the universe, we shall not find it; although such a reference does exist in the spurious *Pirithous*. It looks very much, therefore, as if Euripides was an acquaintance rather than a pupil of Anaxagoras, and that, although he may have been interested in his theories, he was not deeply influenced by them.[5]

The case seems to have been much the same with regard to his relations to other philosophers and sophists. He may have been intimate with Protagoras; though the story that the latter read his famous essay on the gods, which caused his banishment from Athens, in the house of Euripides is not well attested.[6] There are a few other points of contact between the two. Diogenes Laertius[7] states on the authority of Philochorus that Euripides in his *Ixion* referred to the loss of Protagoras by shipwreck. Then there is an echo of the famous dictum "Man is the measure of all things" in Fragment 19 from the *Aeolus*. Furthermore the

[1] See Diog. Laer. II, 3, 10, *ὅθεν καὶ Εὐριπίδην μαθητὴν ὄντα αὐτοῦ, χρυσέαν βῶλον εἰπεῖν τὸν ἥλιον ἐν τῷ Φαέθοντι.*

[2] The same idea has also been claimed for a passage in the *Orestes* (982 ff.), but incorrectly. See Decharme, *Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre*, p. 37.

[3] VIII, praef. 1.

[4] *Euripides, der Dichter der Griechischen Aufklärung*, p. 156.

[5] For a discussion of this subject see Léon Parmentier, *Euripide et Anaxagore*.

[6] Diogenes Laertius, who is our authority for the story (IX, 8, 54), also says that other writers declared that it was at the house of Megaclides, or in the Lyceum.

[7] IX, 8, 55.

statement in Fragment 189 (from the *Antiope*) that the man clever at speaking may make contradictory arguments out of every subject may also be due to Protagoras. But references such as these are altogether insufficient to prove that their relationship was ever that of pupil and master.

The statement in the *Life* that he was a friend of Socrates may well be true. Aelian[1] records an interesting tale which also may be true, that Socrates rarely went to the theatre, but always went to see a new play by Euripides, even to the Piraeus. There is, however, no trace of the influence of Socrates in the extant plays.

It seems clear, therefore, that during the formative period of his mind Euripides was not profoundly influenced by Anaxagoras or any other philosopher, whether he was his pupil or not. No doubt he read widely in the works of various philosophers and some hints of this may be found in the plays, where certain statements may be traced back to doctrines of Heraclitus, Empedocles, Epicharmus and others.[2] But this evidence taken as a whole is scanty. In fact it is quite insufficient to prove Euripides to have been the follower of any one of them. At the same time he was distinctly of a philosophical turn of mind, so that Athenaeus[3] and others could speak of him as the "Stage philosopher" (*σκηνικὸς φιλόσοφος*). He had a philosophy of his own and he drew his ideas from many sources.

Very little is known of his private life during his maturity. He seems to have taken no part in politics, and, in fact, would hardly have had time to do so. In Aristotle's *Rhetoric*[4] a certain

[1] *V. H.* II, 13, *ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης σπάνιον μὲν ἐπεφοίτα τοῖς θεάτροις, εἴ ποτε δὲ Εὐριπίδης ὁ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητὴς ἠγωνίζετο καινοῖς τραγῳδοῖς τότε γε ἀφικνεῖτο. καὶ Πειραιοῖ δὲ ἀγωνιζομένου τοῦ Εὐριπίδου καὶ ἐκεῖ κατῄει· ἔχαιρε γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διά τε τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέτροις ἀρετήν.*

[2] See W. Nestle, *Untersuchungen ueber die Philosophischen Quellen des Euripides.*

[3] IV, p. 158 e and XIII, p. 561 a.

[4] II, 6, 20. The scholium reads, *Εὐριπίδης πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους πρέσβυς ἀποσταλεὶς καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας δεόμενος, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἀνένευον, εἶπεν· ἔδει, ἄνδρες Συρακόσιοι, εἰ καὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἀλλά γε διὰ τὸ ἄρτι ὑμῶν δέεσθαι, αἰσχύνεσθαι ἡμᾶς ὡς θαυμάζοντας.*

reply of his to the Syracusans (*ἀπόκρισις πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους*) is mentioned, and the scholiast on the passage refers it to an occasion when Euripides had been sent as an ambassador to Syracuse. Nothing further is known about this story and it is generally discredited; but there is nothing improbable in the incident itself. It must be remembered that the plays of Euripides were very popular in Sicily. According to Plutarch[1] many Athenian prisoners taken after the great disaster of 413 owed their lives and their liberty to their ability to repeat passages from his works, and upon their return to Athens went to him and acknowledged their indebtedness. If, therefore, the Athenians for any reason did send an embassy to Syracuse at any time between the years 413 and 406 B.C. they could not have done better than to appoint Euripides to it. He was decidedly *persona grata* to the Syracusans, and for that reason, perhaps, really did serve on such a mission. The passage in the scholia does not read like the invention of a scribe; but, on the other hand, there is the silence of the extant biographies as to the incident.

Like most Athenians Euripides appears occasionally to have had his troubles with the law courts. Thus Aristotle[2] records a keen retort which he made to an opponent in a case involving an exchange of property. His adversary, a certain Hygiaenon, accused him of impiety for the famous line in the *Hippolytus*[3]

The tongue has sworn, the mind remains unsworn,

but Euripides answered that he was in the wrong in bringing words uttered on the stage into the courts of law; that he had

[1] *Nicias*, XXIX, 3 ff.; also Satyrus, Fr. 39, XIX, ll. 11 ff., *Ox. Pap.* IX, 1912, p. 163.

[2] *Rhet.* III, 15, 8. The passage reads, *ἄλλος, εἰ γέγονε κρίσις, ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης πρὸς Ὑγιαίνοντα ἐν τῇ ἀντιδόσει κατηγοροῦντα ὡς ἀσεβής, ὅς γ' ἐποίησε κελεύων ἐπιορκεῖν*

ἡ γλῶσσ'ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος.

ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ ἀγῶνος κρίσεις εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια ἄγοντα· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῶν δεδωκέναι λόγον ἢ δώσειν, εἰ βούλεται κατηγορεῖν.

[3] L. 612; see p. 113.

answered him, or would answer him in the theatre if he wished to accuse him. On another occasion, according to the new papyrus of Satyrus,[1] Cleon prosecuted him for impiety, but none of the details are known.

Our information about his family life is very unsatisfactory. It is a strange jumble of what may be true, mixed with nonsense derived from the *Thesmophoriazousae* of Aristophanes treated as if it were historic fact. He would seem to have been unhappy in his marriage; though here again it is possible that this is a mere inference drawn by some unknown biographer from some of the female characters in his plays, such as Phaedra in the *Hippolytus*. According to the *Life* he was married twice. His first wife was named Melito and the second Choirine, or, as Suidas says, Choirile. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf[2] argues that the second wife is a myth, and he may well be right. Aristophanes mentions but one wife. In the *Life*[3] Cephisophon is represented as having caused trouble with the first wife; but this is extremely unlikely. The comic poets would certainly have seized upon such an incident and made the most of it if there had been even a remote suggestion of an intrigue. It would appear that there was not much to be said about his home life, and that uncritical writers of a later age drew their own inferences about it from some of the characters in his tragedies.

He is said to have had three sons who survived him. Mnesarchides, the eldest, became a merchant; the second, Mnesilochus, was an actor; and the youngest, Euripides, called his nephew by Suidas, followed his father's profession of tragic poet.

Of his association with contemporary literary men in Athens there is little satisfactory evidence. Aristophanes, as has already been pointed out, did not like him. On the other hand the story told in the *Life* that the aged Sophocles put on mourning upon hearing of his death, seems to imply a friendly feeling on the part

[1] Fr. 39, X, ll. 15–22, *ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ Κλέωνος τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας δίκην ἔφυγεν ἣν προειρήκαμεν.*

[2] *Herakles*, *p.* 7.

[3] Ll. 90 f.

of the older dramatist. Satyrus[1] tells a story that when the lyric poet Timotheus was so discouraged at the reception of his poems that he was about to take his life, Euripides, who appreciated his genius, consoled him and wrote a prologue for his famous poem, the *Persians*. This story, if true, points to a kind heart and a willingness to help a fellow poet in adversity.

Towards the end of his life he went to Macedonia, where he died.[2] Whether he went on the invitation of King Archelaus, or for some other reason cannot be definitely determined. Satyrus implies that it was at least in part because of annoyance at certain obscure poets. But the kings of Macedonia were glad to receive visits from literary men and when Euripides arrived there he was treated with great distinction. Apparently Archelaus made a sort of confidant of him.[3]

His death seems to have been caused by accident in a most tragic manner. It appears that one day he was walking by himself in the woods at some distance from the city when the king set out hunting. When the party had passed the city gates, the dogs were released and darting ahead they came upon Euripides and attacked and killed him while the huntsmen were still at a distance.[4] Suidas says that two poets who were jealous of him, Arridaeus, a Macedonian, and Crateuas, a Thessalian, bribed the slave Lysimachus, who had charge of the king's dogs, for ten minae, to let them loose upon him. This sounds explicit, and there may be something in it, but Philochorus and Eratosthenes seem not to have believed it. The king was deeply grieved at his death and cut off his hair in token of his sorrow.[5]

There can be little doubt about the year in which this occurred. Diodorus Siculus on the authority of Apollodorus says that it

[1] Fr. 39, XXII, 1 ff.

[2] *Vita*, ll. 57 and 121.

[3] Solinus, IX, 17.

[4] The story is told with some variations in the *Life*, ll. 54 ff.; in Satyrus, Fr 39, XXI, 2 ff.; in Suidas, s. v. Εὐριπίδης; in Gellius, XV, 20, 9; in Diodorus Siculus, XIII, 103, 5.

[5] Solinus, IX, 15.

happened the year before Alexias was archon,[1] that is to say in the archonship of Callias, or the third year of the ninety-third Olympiad, which would be the year 406 B.C. This date is confirmed from other sources. The Parian Marble, however, mentions the archonship of Antigenes, which would be Olympiad 93.2; but as the Athenian year began in July, both authorities may refer to the same year B.C. The difference in the names of the archons would imply some doubt as to the month in which the catastrophe occurred.

Euripides was buried in Macedonia near the town of Arethusa.[2] Suidas, to be sure, says Pella, but this may safely be rejected. The Athenians sent an embassy to bring back his remains, but the Macedonians declined to give them up.[3] A cenotaph was then erected to his memory on the road leading from Athens to the Piraeus.[4] The epitaph upon it, composed by his friend Timotheus, or by the historian Thucydides (both names are given), is quoted in the *Life*.[5] This monument and the one at Arethusa are both said to have been struck by lightning.

Personal Characteristics

Euripides was a hard student and evidently confined himself closely to his literary work. This, perhaps, might be inferred from the fact that he owned a large private library, and composed as many as ninety-two dramas. The mere act of composition would require him to be much by himself, so that he could not, even if he wished have the leisure for the diversions of his fellow Athenians. A story which goes back to Philochorus says that he had a cave on the island of Salamis with the opening towards the sea, and that he retired to it and spent his days in meditation and writing. This story is found in Satyrus[6] and in Gellius[7]

[1] XIII, 103, 5; 104, 1.
[2] Plut. *Lycurg.* XXI, 5; Ammian. Marc. XXVII, 4, 8; *Anth. Pal.* VII, 51.
[3] Gellius, XV, 20, 10.
[4] Paus. I, 2, 2; *Vita*, l. 37.
[5] There are nine epigrams on Euripides in the *Anthologia Palatina*, VII, 43–51.
[6] Fr. 39, IX.
[7] XV, 20, 5.

as well as in the *Life*[1] and may well be true. It may be that this somewhat secluded mode of life produced an effect upon his character. At least he is described as gloomy, thoughtful, stern, a hater of laughter, a hater of women, a man who avoided the society of other men, a man who did not know how to jest even in his cups, and was generally disliked.[2] Such are the statements about him, but they probably greatly exaggerate the facts even where they are not utterly untrue. A man who had so complete a knowledge of human nature as Euripides displays in his tragedies could not have been altogether a recluse or a misanthrope.

The tradition which made him a hater of women, whether true or not, may be accounted for in two ways. It may be explained if the story of his unhappy married life, which we have seen reason to doubt, were true. Or it may equally well have arisen from the fact that certain of the female characters in his plays were such as to inspire hostility towards them in the minds of the spectators. The fact is that Euripides seems to have been the first to appreciate the dramatic possibilities of representing on the stage the passions usually attributed to women. Thus in the *Hippolytus* we find vividly portrayed slighted love, fear and revenge; in the *Medea*, envy and hate; in the *Hecuba*, revenge. But this does not indicate anything at all as to the personal feelings of the poet about women. It is simply proof of his dramatic genius. Furthermore not all of his heroines are inspired by evil motives. In Alcestis we find a model of wifely devotion, a woman who willingly gives her life for her husband. In the *Iphigenia at Aulis* we find a young girl gladly giving up her life for her father and her country. In the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* Iphigenia is willing to risk everything for her brother. In the *Heraclidae* Macaria joyfully gives her life to save her brothers and sisters. These instances show that

[1] Ll. 61 ff.

[2] See *Vita*, ll. 64 ff.; Suidas, s. v. Εὐριπίδης; Gellius, quoting Alexander Aetolus, XV, 20, 5; Satyrus, Fr. 39, X.

Euripides represented noble women on the stage as well as women whose crimes could excite nothing but detestation. The ancient commentators and biographers appear to have overlooked this fact, and to have been impressed only by his Phaedras and Medeas. They have thus done him a grave injustice.

As an Author

Euripides was a prolific writer, but the exact number of his plays cannot now be determined with certainty. In one passage in the *Life* (line 128) it is stated that he wrote ninety-eight; that sixty-seven were at the time the note was written still extant, besides others which were spurious; that there were eight satyr dramas, of which one was spurious. In another passage in the *Life* (line 33) the total number is given as ninety-two (ϙ β′),[1] of which seventy-eight were then preserved; but three, the *Tennes*, the *Rhadamanthys* and the *Pirithous* were spurious. In Suidas[2] the statement is made that according to one authority the plays of Euripides numbered ninety-two, and that seventy-seven were at that time preserved. Varro quoted by Gellius[3] gave the number as seventy-five, which may represent those extant in his day. Nauck[4] points out that ninety-eight is probably due to an error in writing. The number ninety-two would be twenty-three tetralogies and might be arrived at from statements in the *didascaliae*, or official records. Nauck quotes Elmsley as pointing out that the tragedies which failed to obtain a chorus would not be included in this list, but, it is not likely that they would be published. Many years ago Wilamowitz-Moellendorf argued[5] that in Alexandrian times seventy-eight plays were preserved under the name of Euripides and ninety-two ascribed to him. Of the seventy-eight three

[1] Codex B (Vaticanus 909) reads here ϙή, that is 98.
[2] S. v. Εὐριπίδης.
[3] XVII, 4, 3.
[4] *De Euripidis Poesi*, p. xxv.
[5] *Analecta Euripidea*, pp. 172 ff.

tragedies, the *Tennes*, the *Rhadamanthys* and the *Pirithous* and one satyr drama, the *Sisyphus*, were not genuine. This tetralogy, from all four plays of which fragments are preserved, was probaby written by Critias between 411 and 405 B.C. Of the eighty-eight genuine plays fourteen were then lost. Of those preserved sixty-seven were tragedies and seven satyr dramas. This is a reasonable conclusion from the evidence available and may be accepted until further evidence comes to light.

Two ancient lists of the plays of Euripides exist, but both are incomplete. One is carved on the marble slab which serves as a background for a seated figure of Euripides in the Louvre (the so-called Albani monument), and contains thirty-seven titles in alphabetical order as far as the *Orestes*.[1] The other is on a slab found at the Piraeus,[2] on which twenty-three names may be restored. The arrangement here is not strictly alphabetical; but plays beginning with the same letter are grouped together.

Of the large number of plays which he composed nineteen have come down to modern times, and something is known about fifty-five others.[3]

Portraits

Twenty-six portraits of the poet have come down from antiquity. The best are the heads in Mantua, Naples and Brunswick.[4] Whether any of them go back to his portrait statue set up in the theatre at Athens[5] in the time of Lycurgus or not we have no means of knowing. The portraits represent him in mature life. He has a high forehead, long side locks, short,

[1] Louvre, No. 343; Bernouilli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, Euripides, No. 17: Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, p. 148.

[2] *I. G.* II, 992. See Haigh, *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 281, n. 3, and Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 139.

[3] See Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *ibid.* pp. 147 ff. for the titles.

[4] For a discussion of the portraits see Bernouilli, *op. cit.* I, pp. 151 ff.

[5] Paus. I, 21, 1; also Plut. *Decem. Orat.* p. 841 F.

thick beard, and an earnest expression on his face which would seem to justify the words "gloomy, thoughtful and stern" (*σκυθρωπός, σύννους* and *αὐστηρός*) used to describe his character. It may be that the portrait itself inspired the adjectives. At the same time I find it a highly intellectual face, and one which reveals something of the dreamer. A late relief in Constantinople (Plate I) represents Euripides seated before a statue of the god Dionysus and handing a tragic mask representing Heracles to the Stage, who stands before him in the guise of a young woman. In her right hand she holds a manuscript which she has already received, while the poet holds another in his left hand. The misspelling of the poet's name is significant of its late date.

Fame

Euripides acquired a reputation slowly, and it was only towards the end of his life that he could be called famous. This is proved by the small number of tragic victories which he won,[1] and by the fact that he was often defeated by inferior poets.[2] He won the tragic prize but five times altogether, and one of these victories was for tragedies presented after his death by the younger Euripides.[3] This want of appreciation on the part of the Athenians was not due to any lack of merit in his tragedies. It was rather because he was overshadowed by the two great masters of the tragic stage who had preceded him. It took the Athenians some time to secure a proper perspective, and to realize that they had among them a third great tragic genius worthy to rank with the other two.

But that he did acquire fame towards the latter part of his career is proved by many things, such as the story already quoted that many Athenian soldiers after the great disaster in

[1] *Vita*, l. 131; Suidas, s. v. *Εὐριπίδης*; Gellius, XVII, 4, 3.

[2] Gellius, *ibid.*

[3] The plays were the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, the *Alcmaeon at Corinth* and the *Bacchae*. See Schol. to Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 67.

Sicily owed their lives to their ability to quote from his plays. Again the *Life* tells of his being honored with special privileges in Magnesia,[1] and at the court of King Archelaus he was treated with marks of great distinction.[2] After his death Dionysius of Syracuse purchased for a talent his lyre, stylus and writing tablets and dedicated them in the temple of the Muses.[3] And still again the victory of the younger Euripides with three of his plays is further evidence to the same effect.

But the fame of Euripides did not come to an end with his death. On the contrary it continued to grow until it even surpassed that of his two great predecessors. Signs of this are numerous; so that when Aristophanes in the *Frogs* puts into the mouth of Aeschylus the familiar joke that his contest with Euripides in Hades for the tragic throne was not fair because the latter's poetry had died with him, he is very far from the truth.

In fact the influence of Euripides upon all classes of men in the generations after his death was profound. When, as tragedy waned and it became the custom at Athens to reproduce an old play along with the new ones, the play selected was often a tragedy of Euripides. It is known, for example, that for three years in succession, 342/1 to 340/39 B.C., a play of Euripides was chosen for this purpose.[4] Poets in other fields than tragedy looked to him as a model. Thus we can trace his influence on the great master of the New Comedy, Menander. Orators, too, and philosophers were under obligations to him, and, as Haigh points out[5] he is more often quoted by Plato and Aristotle than any other tragic poet. Alexander the Great often quoted from him and at his last dinner is said to have recited a scene from the *Andromeda*.[6]

[1] Ll. 21 f. προξενίᾳ ἐτιμήθη καὶ ἀτελείᾳ.

[2] See Solinus, IX, 17, Hic Archelaus in tantum litterarum mire amator fuit ut Euripidi tragico consiliorum summam concrederet, etc.

[3] *Vita*, ll. 79 ff. quoting Hermippus.

[4] See *I. G.* II, 973 with the comments of A. Wilhelm in *Urkunden Dramatisches Aufführungen in Athen*, pp. 38 ff.

[5] *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 318.

[6] Athen. XII, p. 537 d.

The fragments of the lost plays of Euripides handed down to us through quotations in the literature are more numerous than those of Aeschylus and Sophocles;[1] and this number has been greatly augmented by papyrus fragments found in Egypt in recent years. Only one papyrus fragment of Aeschylus of any length has so far been identified.[2] Of Sophocles we have considerable portions of the satyr drama, the *Ichneutae*, and pieces of five old plays and four new ones, while of Euripides we have portions of ten lost plays and eleven extant plays. These numbers tell their own story. They probably represent the relative popularity of the three great tragic poets in late Greek times.

The enthusiastic admiration for Euripides on the part of some of his followers, although good evidence of his fame, was sometimes carried to extremes and led to absurd situations. Thus Lucian[3] tells a story about the people of Abdera, who became so excited over a performance of the *Andromeda* that they went about the streets declaiming passages from that play. This may well be an exaggeration; but the anecdote, nevertheless, has significance. There is other evidence, too, pointing in the same direction. Thus Axionicus, a poet of the Middle Comedy, is known to have written a play called Φιλευριπίδης, "*The Man Who was Fond of Euripides*";[4] and Pollux[5] quotes from still another comedy with the same title by a certain Philippides. Such plays could never have been written if the admirers of Euripides had not made themselves ridiculous by their too great enthusiasm. The object of a successful comic poet is to produce jokes which are to the point and readily understood by his audience. He must be up to date. These titles, therefore, are

[1] In Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* there are, counting single words, 441 fragments of Aeschylus, 1009 of Sophocles, and 1091 of Euripides.

[2] Twenty-three lines of the *Carians* found many years ago.

[3] *Quomodo Hist. Consc.* 1.

[4] See Athen. IV, p. 175 b and VIII, p. 352 b, where two passages from the play are quoted.

[5] IX, 38.

also an indication of a widespread knowledge of Euripides at the time the plays were produced.

With the spread of Greek culture the fame of Euripides increased. How far this extended is shown, for example, by a gruesome incident at the court of the Parthian king Hyrodes, related by Plutarch.[1] When the head of the slain Roman general Crassus was brought to the king a tragic actor recited the passage in the *Bacchae* where Agave appears with the head of her son. But his influence extended beyond the confines of distant Parthia. It has even been suggested that his plays were carried to India and became the source of the Sanscrit drama,[2] but Sanscrit scholars claim that this had a purely Indian origin.

How great an influence he exerted on the Roman tragic stage is apparent from the tragedies of Seneca, as well as from the fragments of the lost plays of the earlier writers of tragedy. But his influence did not stop there. Poets in other fields were deeply indebted to him, and not least among the number Virgil and Ovid. So, too, in modern times many a tragedy has been inspired by him directly or indirectly.

The fame of Euripides is also shown by his influence upon the workers in the minor arts, the carvers of sarcophagi, the painters of vases, the makers of mirrors, and the like. He frequently gave a definite form to the old Greek myths, so that scenes from his dramas furnished these people with innumerable subjects for their drawings or carvings, subjects which were interesting in themselves and which would be readily recognized by everybody.[3] One small class of objects is especially interesting in this connection. It is a series of cups dating from Alexandrian times having in the bottom in relief a portrait of Euripides, and on the

[1] Plut. *Crassus*, XXXIII, 2, *τῆς δὲ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Κράσσου κομισθείσης ἐπὶ θύρας ἀπηρμέναι μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τράπεζαι, τραγῳδιῶν δὲ ὑποκριτὴς Ἰάσων ὄνομα Τραλλιανὸς ἦδεν Εὐριπίδου Βακχῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀγαύην·*

[2] See Nestle, *Euripides*, p. 20.

[3] For scenes from his plays on Greek vases, which form the most important class, see particularly L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, (Paris, 1926) pp. 233 ff.

sides scenes from his plays. Three are known with scenes from the *Iphigenia at Aulis* inscribed Εὐριπίδου Ἰφιγενείας, and two others, besides a fragment, have scenes from the *Phoenissae*.[1] Still another may go back to his *Oedipus*.[2] How common this class of objects was can only be conjectured; but the number of sarcophagi, vase paintings and other works of art which can be traced back to his plays is very great.

[1] See Robert, *Winckelmann Prog.* Berlin, 1890, pp. 51 ff. and 59 ff.; also *Jb. Arch. I.* XXIII, 1908, pp. 184 ff.; pls. 5, 6.

[2] See Robert, *ibid.* p. 67 and his *Oidipus*, I, p. 326, fig. 49.

CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRAGEDY OF EURIPIDES

THE TECHNIQUE OF HIS DRAMA—THE PROLOGUES—THE DEUS EX MACHINA—THE ECCYCLEMA AND OTHER STAGE DEVICES—SCENERY, COSTUMING, ETC.—DRAMATIC TYPES—THE CHORUS

In the history of the drama it is a well-recognized fact that there is always a continuous development either for the better or the worse. The drama as a literary type does not stand still. So every dramatist is likely to invent or develop in his plays certain features which he believes in one way or another will add to the effectiveness of their presentation. Euripides was no exception to this rule. He introduced various innovations into Greek tragedy as he found it, some of which he made regular features of his plays so that they became recognized as characteristic of his work. In the present chapter we shall examine these innovations and try to see to what extent they were justified in the opinion of the people of his time and of subsequent ages.

The Prologues

From the point of view of construction the most obvious characteristic of the tragedies of Euripides is the prologue. This is especially noticeable to readers who are familiar with the works of Aeschylus and Sophocles, where the drama usually begins in a different way. What Euripides did was to introduce at the beginning some character, who either might or might not have a part in the subsequent action, to tell the audience what it ought to know at the outset. Thus in the *Andromache* Andromache, the chief personage in the play, speaks the prologue; while in the *Hippolytus* the prologue is spoken by Aphro-

dite who does not appear again on the stage.[1] It was the object of the prologue to explain in some detail who the chief characters were, how they had got into the situation in which they found themselves at the beginning of the play, and where the scene was laid. For example Andromache, who is represented as talking to herself, explains in the prologue of the tragedy which bears her name that her home had been at Thebe in the Troad, that she had married Hector and gone to live in Troy the envied of all, but that now she was the most unhappy of women. She had seen her husband slain, and her little boy, Astyanax, murdered by being cast from the city walls; and she had herself been given as a slave to the son of the man who slew her husband. She is living in his house in Pharsalus and has borne him a son. But now he has married Hermione, daughter of Menelaus, who has been treating her very cruelly and is at that very moment seeking to bring about her death, while the husband, Neoptolemus, is away on a journey to Delphi. Andromache has hidden her child by Neoptolemus and has fled for safety to the shrine of Thetis. Here, then, we have a complete statement of the situation, and this is typical of the opening scene in the tragedies of Euripides. Such prologues are found in all the extant plays except the *Rhesus* and the *Iphigenia at Aulis*. But the *Rhesus* has lost its prologue, as will be shown in the discussion of that play; and the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, which was evidently worked over by the younger Euripides when he brought it out after his father's death, really has two prologues.[2]

The prologues of Euripides vary in length from twenty-seven lines in the *Alcestis* and forty-eight lines in the *Medea*, which are early plays, to seventy lines in the *Orestes* and eighty-seven lines in the *Phoenissae*, which are later plays. At the same time

[1] The word "stage" is used throughout this book in the modern sense. There was no elevated stage in the Greek theatre in the time of Euripides. The whole action, both of actors and chorus, took place in the circular orchestra in front of the stage buildings.

[2] See p. 151.

we must remember that the *Hippolytus*, which can be dated in 428 B.C. has a prologue of fifty-seven lines, and the *Troades*, dated in 415 B.C. has a prologue of forty-seven lines. The length of the prologue, therefore, is not necessarily an indication of date.

As a rule the prologue is followed by a dialogue. This is the case in eleven of the extant plays,[1] and the transition is often managed with great skill, as, for example, in the *Medea*.[2] In four plays it is followed by lyrics;[3] in one, the *Hippolytus*, by a short lyric dialogue; and in one, the *Hecuba*, by an anapaestic passage. The prologues are never delivered by a character wholly disconnected with the plot; for where the speaker takes no further part in the action, he is usually a god deeply interested in the outcome, such as Apollo in the *Alcestis*, Dionysus in the *Bacchae*, Hermes in the *Ion*, Aphrodite in the *Hippolytus*, and Poseidon in the *Troades*.

It is not difficult to see what purpose Euripides had in mind in beginning his tragedies as he does. It is very clear that this purpose was practical. There were no playbills in the Athenian theatre, and, although the audience had a general acquaintance with the myths which formed the subject of most of the plays,[4] they did not know what part of the story was to be treated, or what new features the poet might introduce. In the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes (line 11) we find the Herald proclaiming "Bring in your chorus, Theognis." If no further introduction than this served to announce a tragedy, the audience unless otherwise informed would be in ignorance of just what the situation was for some time after the play had begun. A prologue would thus become almost a necessity. It was, in fact, a practical

[1] *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Electra*, *Helen*, *Heracles Furens*, *Heraclidae*, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, *Medea*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae* and *Troades*.

[2] See p. 155.

[3] *Bacchae*, *Cyclops*, *Ion* and *Suppliants*.

[4] Aristotle, to be sure, implies the contrary for audiences in his day. He says of the traditional stories, that those which were known were known to few people (τὰ γνώριμα ὀλίγοις γνώριμά ἐστιν), *Poetics*, p. 1451 b, 25 f.

device for overcoming a difficulty in the presentation of a play, and Euripides was above all things a practical dramatist, as will be abundantly shown later. It served so useful a purpose that even if the poet thought that it might be regarded as a technical defect by readers (and that is very doubtful) he knew that it would not appear so to the spectators when the play was on the stage. In actual practice the Euripidean prologue must have been welcomed by the ancient audience, and looked upon by them as a distinct improvement.

Some evidence for this is to be found in the first scene of the *Trachiniae*. All of the other extant tragedies of Sophocles begin with a dialogue, so that we are at once in the midst of the action; but in the *Trachiniae* we have a prologue quite in the Euripidean manner. This prologue consists of forty-eight lines and is ostensibly addressed by Deianeira to the Nurse. In reality it tells the audience all the facts which it should know when the play opens, just as a prologue of Euripides does. Unfortunately the date of the *Trachiniae* is not known and different opinions have been expressed in regard to it. It has, however, long been recognized that there were points of resemblance between the *Trachiniae* and the *Heracles Furens* of Euripides. Perhaps the most striking of these is the treatment of the Old Man introduced at line 974, where he plays a part similar to that of Amphitryon in the *Heracles*.[1] In the latter play Amphitryon has an important part, and it is natural for him to be on the stage when Heracles recovers consciousness from the blow dealt him by Athena, after the slaying of his wife and children. The Old Man in the *Trachiniae* has not appeared before, and there is no particular reason for his introduction into the scene unless Sophocles is following Euripides and feels that he must have somebody to counterbalance Amphitryon. We cannot imagine Amphitryon as derived from the Old Man. Again the two plays resemble each other in the scene where the unconscious Heracles is brought on the stage and made to regain consciousness there.[2]

[1] See p. 106.

[2] See in this connection Masqueray, *Sophocles, Les Trachiniennes*, pp. 13 ff.

It looks as if Sophocles were imitating Euripides in these scenes. That being the case, and the *Trachiniae* thus being the later play, there is every reason to believe that he is imitating Euripides in the prologue as well.[1] This he would not have done if he had not felt that the Euripidean prologue was a useful contribution to the drama.

The next point to consider is whether Euripides evolved the idea of his prologues independently, or got a suggestion for them from some other source. Some light may be thrown on this question if we examine the opening scenes in the tragedies of Aeschylus. Two of the extant plays, the *Supplices* and the *Persians*, begin with a long lyric passage; two others, the *Seven against Thebes* and the *Prometheus Bound*, begin with a dialogue; while the *Agamemnon*, presumably the *Choephoroe*, and the *Eumenides* begin with a soliloquy. The three plays last mentioned were brought out as a trilogy under the title of the *Orestea* in 458 B.C., two years before the author's death. In the third of them, the *Eumenides*, we find a prologue of sixty-three lines which bears considerable resemblance to the prologues of Euripides. The beginning of the *Agamemnon* is not so close, and the mutilated beginning of the *Choephoroe* does not permit any safe statement to be made in regard to it. Euripides brought out his first play in 455 B.C., three years after the *Orestea* appeared, so that there can be no question of precedence. It looks very much as if Aeschylus, who made so many valuable contributions to Greek tragedy, saw the advantages of explanatory prologues and introduced them in this trilogy, and that Euripides got the idea from him and developed it. But however this may be, it was Euripides who fully appreciated what a useful and practical device such a prologue was, and how welcome it would be to the spectator, and for that reason he adopted it and made it his own.

[1] I cannot agree with Jebb's statement (*Trach.* p. xlix) that the prologue of the *Trachiniae* "is utterly unlike the typical prologues of Euripides in being dramatic." It is essentially the same as many of his prologues.

The Deus ex Machina

Another characteristic of the tragedy of Euripides, and one which has been criticized equally with his prologues, is his frequent use of the *deus ex machina*, that is the introduction of a god, or other character, on high by means of a mechanical contrivance. This device, technically known as the μηχανή, enabled the dramatist to represent a figure in mid-air, or on the roof of a temple, or elsewhere. It was used in twelve of the extant plays of Euripides. Thus in the *Andromache*, Thetis was represented in this way; in the *Bacchae*, Dionysus; in the *Electra*, the Dioscuri; in the *Helen*, the Dioscuri; in the *Heracles Furens*, Iris and probably Lussa; in the *Hippolytus*, Artemis; in the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, Athena; in the *Ion*, Athena; in the *Medea*, Medea at the end of the play; in the *Orestes*, Apollo; in the *Rhesus*, the Muse; and in the *Suppliants*, Athena. The gods were, however, not always so brought upon the stage. For example, Apollo in the *Alcestis*, Athena in the *Rhesus*, and and Poseidon and Athena in the *Troades* seem to have entered, spoken their lines, and left the stage in the usual manner. The actual treatment of the various characters by the dramatist will be considered more fully in the discussion of the separate plays; but it is necessary to point out here that the *deus ex machina* is not always used by Euripides in the same way.

It is commonly assumed by adverse critics that the device was resorted to by the dramatist in order to get himself out of difficulties into which the development of his plot had led him. This, however, is not the case. There are but two of the extant plays, the *Hippolytus* and the *Orestes*, in which there are any grounds for such an assumption; and even in the *Hippolytus* it is not quite clear that the μηχανή was used. Furthermore a careful examination of the plays shows that the poet, if he had wished to do so, might have avoided the use of the *deus ex machina* altogether by making a few changes which would not have injured his plots. The fact is that Euripides used it for dramatic effect. It has already been pointed out that

he was distinctly a practical dramatist. He wrote his plays not for the reader, but for presentation before an audience in the theatre. The appearance of an Athena in shining armor above the roof of her temple, as in the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, would be striking. In fact, in my opinion, it was to produce these startling, theatrical effects that the poet resorted to the use of this device. He knew well enough how the spectators would receive it. They could not fail to be highly delighted; and the same effect has been produced by it in modern times in revivals of Greek dramas, as, for example, in the presentation of the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* in Philadelphia in 1903. This was sufficient justification for its use.

Aristotle in his *Poetics*[1] recognizes the place of the *deus ex machina* in the drama as a convenient way of setting forth what has preceded, or what is to follow; but with Euripides it was more than that. It was the means of introducing a striking scene. If, therefore, its use is to be called a defect artistically, it can be considered so only when the play is read; for dramatically and scenically it fulfills a definite function and the poet is justified in employing it. There can be no question, I think, that it added greatly to the enjoyment of the theatre by the ancient audience.

The fact that we find this device so often used in the extant plays of Euripides should not mislead us into the belief that he was its inventor. That seems not to have been the case. It was apparently employed by Aeschylus for the entrance of Oceanus in the *Prometheus Bound*,[2] though this has been questioned; and, perhaps, also for the entrance of Athena in the

[1] P. 1454 b, 3 ff. ἀλλὰ μηχανῆ χρηστέον ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τοῦ δράματος, ἢ ὅσα πρὸ τοῦ γέγονεν ἃ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἄνθρωπον εἰδέναι, ἢ ὅσα ὕστερον, ἃ δεῖται προαγορεύσεως καὶ ἀγγελίας.

[2] Lines 284 ff. ἥκω δολιχῆς τέρμα κελεύθου
διαμειψάμενος πρὸς σέ, Προμηθεῦ,
τὸν πτερυγωκῆ τόνδ' οἰωνὸν
γνώμῃ στομίων ἄτερ εἰθύνων.

Eumenides.[1] Sophocles used it in the *Philoctetes*,[2] which, however, is a late play. If a greater number of tragedies by these two masters had survived we should be able to speak with more assurance. From the evidence which we have it would appear that the *deus ex machina* had existed before the time of Euripides, but that he seized upon it as a useful device and, as in the case of the prologue, made it his own.

The Eccyclema and Other Stage Devices

Euripides seems to have been ready to use any stage device which might contribute to the most effective presentation of his dramas. He does not seem to have made much use of the *eccyclema* (ἐκκύκλημα), that platform upon wheels which might be pushed out from the stage buildings to show an interior scene.[3] Aeschylus used it in the *Agamemnon* (1379 ff.) to show Clytaemnestra and the bodies of the murdered Agamemnon and Cassandra; and again in the *Choephoroe* (973 ff.) to show the dead bodies of Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus. Sophocles, too, used it in three of his extant plays, the *Ajax* (346 ff.), the *Antigone* (1293 ff.) and the *Electra* (1458 ff.). Euripides uses it but four times in the nineteen extant plays: in the *Hippolytus* (808 ff.) to show the body of Phaedra; in the *Hecuba* (1051 ff.) to show the bodies of the sons of Polymestor; in the *Heracles Furens* (1029 ff.) to show the dead Megara and her children; and in the *Electra* (1177 ff.) to bring in the bodies of Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus.[4]

The eccyclema was at best a clumsy contrivance, and, although sometimes effective, was inartistic. Euripides seems to have felt this, for sometimes where it might have been used, and probably would have been by an earlier dramatist, he employed another device. Thus he used the μηχανή to show Medea with

[1] Lines 403 ff.
[2] Lines 1409 ff.
[3] See Dörpfeld und Reisch, *Das Griechische Theater*, pp. 234 ff.
[4] See Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, pp. 228 ff.

the bodies of her children (*Medea*, 1317 ff.); and likewise to show the Muse in the *Rhesus* (890 ff.) with the body of her son. As a practical dramatist he evidently realized how much more striking such a presentation would make the scene in the theatre. It is another proof of what may be called his dramatic instinct.

No doubt Euripides used such other stage devices as were available when he had need of them. Thus at the beginning of the *Hecuba* the ghost of Polydorus speaks the prologue, promptly proclaiming that he comes from the realms of the dead.[1] He probably appeared before the spectators rising from the ground. In the theatre at Eretria there is still preserved an underground passage leading from the stage buildings into the orchestra, apparently designed for this very purpose. No such passage has, to be sure, been proved for the theatre at Athens in the time of Euripides; but that does not necessarily mean that one did not exist, or that a temporary device to serve the same purpose might not have been constructed. No other ghost is introduced in any extant play of Euripides, but it is possible that Thanatos in the *Alcestis* may have entered by this means. The supernatural and miraculous elements in his tragedy are usually made to lie outside the action of the drama and revealed to the spectators only through narration. Such, for example, is the story of the phantom Helen in the *Helen;* the bull rising from the sea in the *Hippolytus;* and Iolaus regaining his youth for a day in the *Heraclidae*. Lussa in the *Heracles Furens* is a supernatural personage, but she seems to have been brought in by means of the μηχανή. In general we may say that if we exclude the gods the supernatural element does not play a very important part in the tragedy of Euripides.

[1] Lines 1 ff. ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
λιπών, ἵν' Ἅιδης χωρὶς ᾤκισται θεῶν,
Πολύδωρος, κ. τ. λ.

Scenery, Costuming, etc.

Euripides, too, seems to have made much more extensive use of scenery than his predecessors. There are various indications of this in his plays, and many places where the stage setting might be made very effective. Such is the Egyptian landscape in the *Helen*, and, again, the temple at Delphi with its works of art in the *Ion*, to give but two examples. We must not, of course, imagine Euripides with the facilities of a modern theatre, but he was not the kind of dramatist to be content with a primitive, or inartistic presentation of his tragedies. Occasionally we get a hint of this outside the drama as, for example, when the scholiast on the *Phoenissae* records the beauty of the stage setting in that play.[1]

In keeping with this use of more elaborate scenery we should expect to find greater attention given to the costuming. To what extent this was the case is very difficult to determine. The costume of the tragic actor had been developed largely by Aeschylus and had become conventional.[2] From what we know of Euripides we should expect him to introduce changes in it with a view to making his tragedy more realistic; but there is little direct evidence that he did so other than that which we gather from the hints of Aristophanes.[3] Some of his scenes, such as the latter part of the *Orestes*, would be difficult to act in the conventional tragic garments; but in the absence of more specific evidence nothing more definite can be said on this topic.

Supernumeraries are an essential feature of all dramatic performances and that was as true in antiquity as it is today. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Euripides made frequent use of these silent characters, especially children; and occasionally he even introduced animals upon the stage. Thus in the *Helen* (1169) the king, Theoclymenus, enters with atten-

[1] On line 8, τὸ δρᾶμά ἐστι μὲν ταῖς σκηνικαῖς ὄψεσι καλόν.

[2] For an account of the costume of the tragic actor see Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, pp. 268 ff.

[3] E.g. *Acharnians*, scene beginning with line 407.

dants accompanied by a pack of hunting dogs; and in the *Hippolytus* (58) a pack of hounds evidently accompanies the companions of Hippolytus when they enter coming from their hunt. Again in the *Troades* (577) Andromache is brought in on a wagon (ἀπήνη) drawn by horses; and in the *Electra* (998) Clytaemnestra enters in a chariot followed by her Trojan attendants in a wagon (998 ff.). Euripides was not alone in this use of animals on the stage. Thus Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon* makes the great king enter in a chariot; and in the *Oedipus at Colonus* of Sophocles Ismene enters on horseback. It was an effective way of bringing an important character before the audience.

Euripides made such frequent and such important use of children as silent characters in his plays that that aspect of his tragedy calls for more than a passing notice. It will, therefore, be considered at greater length in the next chapter.

Dramatic Types

The treatment of the individual characters of Euripides will be taken up in the discussion of the separate plays, but there are certain types introduced in minor rôles which are characteristic of his tragedy. Most important of these is the messenger. The bringing in of a character to explain what had been taking place at a distance was a well-known device on the Greek stage. It did not originate with Euripides, but was employed by both Aeschylus and Sophocles, and no doubt by less important dramatists. With Euripides the part of the messenger was made much more important than it had been previously. What before had been a minor rôle was developed and made to include a long and brilliant speech which a good actor could make most effective. So important did Euripides regard the part of the messenger that he made it a regular feature of his tragedies and introduced it in all that are extant except the *Alcestis*, the *Hecuba* and the *Troades*. Sometimes he is not content with one messenger, but employs two in different scenes, as, for example, in the *Helen* and the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, but

only one of them has a long speech. In the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* the long narrative of the herdsman early in the play (lines 260–339) is in reality a messenger's speech, though another messenger is brought in later on (lines 1327–1419). These speeches vary in length in the different plays from thirty-three lines in the *Rhesus* to 110 lines in the *Phoenissae* and the *Bacchae*. Eighty or ninety lines was about the usual length. They are composed with great skill and are always full of dramatic interest. As will be shown in the discussion of the separate plays they contributed much to the effective presentation of his tragedies.

Another type which Euripides took pleasure in depicting among his minor characters was the faithful slave. This might be a man or a woman, but was portrayed as a model of devotion. An example is Phaedra's nurse in the *Hippolytus*. Her one object is to gratify her mistress and, when she learns her secret, to save her mistress regardless of what might happen to herself. Or again in the *Ion*, where the aged servant of Creusa, this time a man, is ready to risk his life for the peace of mind of his mistress.

The Chorus

The treatment of the chorus by Euripides has been carefully considered by various writers on Greek tragedy and does not call for an extended examination here,[1] though sometimes erroneous statements in regard to it have been made. A complete study of it would require a volume in itself. It was a convention which Euripides found already established when he began to write and to which he had to adapt his plots. It was an inheritance from the past of what had once been the most important element in the drama. We do not find in his plays such long choral passages as are usual in Aeschylus; but he never

[1] For a good discussion of the chorus in Euripides see A. E. Phoutrides, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.* XXVII, 1916, pp. 77 ff.; also Decharme, *Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre*, pp. 422 ff.

forgot that there must always be on the stage fifteen persons who were cognizant of everything which took place in the action. Euripides handles the chorus in different ways, but always with skill. The members of it were usually supposed to be friends or servants of the hero or heroine devoted to their interests. Sometimes their connection with the plot was intimate, as in the *Bacchae* or the *Suppliants*; then again it was less close, as in the *Phoenissae* or the *Andromache*. Sometimes one of the regular choral songs, or *stasima*, had little or no relation to the story, such as the third *stasimon* in the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (lines 1234–1282), but this is unusual. In general the subject of the song was comment on the past, or speculation as to the future of one or more of the principal characters, or of the members of the chorus themselves.

In the actual manipulation of the chorus as an integral part of the play the poet always kept in mind its dramatic possibilities. Thus if he could make a scene more effective by subdividing the chorus, as for example in the *Ion*, lines 184 ff., he did so. Again, he did not hesitate to introduce occasionally a supplementary chorus for dramatic effect, such as the chorus of huntsmen in the *Hippolytus* (61 ff.), or the chorus of Argive men in the *Iphigenia at Aulis* (590 ff.). The composition and treatment of the chorus naturally varied with the individual play.

When we come to examine the language used in the choruses of Euripides we find that it stands in about the same relation to the language of the choruses of Aeschylus and Sophocles that his iambic trimeter lines, that is the lines of his dialogue, do to those of his two illustrious predecessors. That is to say it is simpler. Poetic words are found in abundance, but there are fewer really rare words, and the constructions as a rule are those of the dialogue. At the same time the choruses of Euripides contain much beautiful poetry. It is true that any one not knowing his tragedies at first hand and accepting as trustworthy the insinuations of Aristophanes might be misled in this respect; and this is something that has happened more than

once. But a careful examination of his choral odes quickly shows that Euripides must be ranked high as a lyric poet. How effective the music was to which his choruses were sung we shall probably never know, though part of one choral song from the *Orestes* with the musical notes written above the words has been found in Egypt.[1]

The composition of the plots of Euripides has sometimes been criticized. Thus he has been accused of introducing irrelevant scenes. A careful examination of the passages, however, usually shows that the scenes objected to are not irrelevant, and that the poet had a definite purpose in mind in writing them. On the other hand he has been praised since antiquity for the skill with which he manages his recognition scenes.[2] But questions such as these had best be considered in our examination of the individual plays.

[1] Lines 338–343, in a papyrus dating from the first century A.D. See *Rainer Papyri*, V, p. 365, No. 8029; and below, p. 307, No. 27.

[2] See Aristotle, *Poetics*, p. 1454 a, 4 ff.

CHAPTER III

FURTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRAGEDY OF EURIPIDES

THE CHILD MOTIVE—HUMOR

It is an interesting fact that of the titles of the eighteen tragedies of Euripides which have come down to modern times, counting the *Rhesus* as genuine, eight bear the names of women, five of men, one is named for a band of silent characters, and four for the chorus. In the last group (the *Bacchae*, the *Phoenissae*, the *Suppliants* and the *Troades*) the chorus consist of women; in the *Heraclidae* they are men. One might conclude from this that Euripides preferred the names of women as titles for his plays, for it has long been recognized that he saw that the emotions which are usually regarded as peculiarly feminine, such as jealousy, hate and love furnished excellent material for tragedy; but this is not borne out by the names of the lost plays. If one takes the list of sixty-seven tragedies which Wilamowitz-Moellendorf argued were still preserved in Alexandrian times, he will find that of the forty-nine which have since perished thirty-two bear the names of men and twelve the names of women. Five are named for the chorus and these in all but one case are feminine. In other words we find here just the reverse of what appears in the extant plays. The masculine titles predominate. But the fact that a play bears the name of a man rather than that of a woman does not necessarily mean that the male character in that play is the strongest. In the *Hippolytus*, for example, the real tragic character is Phaedra, not Hippolytus, and that too though she is on the stage but a short time. Hippolytus loses his life, to be sure, under tragic circumstances, but he is not what might be called a tragic hero.

So, too, in the *Ion* Creusa is quite as important a character as Ion though neither of them can be called tragic. We cannot, therefore, be sure from the title alone who is to be the most important personage in the action. In other words our only safe guide is the extant plays and we are not justified in drawing conclusions in regard to plays that are lost.

One thing, however, seems clear: that great tragic characters are rare in Euripides and that where they do occur they are apt to be women rather than men. It is unfortunate that his *Oedipus* has not come down to us, for there is no character in his extant plays which can for a moment compare with Oedipus in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles; or, indeed, with the very different, though equally tragic Oedipus of the *Oedipus at Colonus*. The nearest approach to such a character in the extant tragedies is the Heracles in the *Heracles Furens*. But Heracles in this play does not dominate the action from the beginning as Oedipus does. In fact he does not appear at all until line 523 when he is introduced just in time to rescue his family from his enemy Lycus. The terrible tragedy which follows when Heracles becomes suddenly insane and kills his wife and children is related by a messenger; but he is himself brought on the stage again when he has recovered his sanity, a truly pathetic spectacle. Here, then, we have a real tragic figure, but he cannot be paralleled in the other extant plays of Euripides.

But if there is a scarcity of great tragic heroes in the extant dramas of Euripides the same cannot be said of his heroines. Several of them attain to true tragic heights. The most striking and terrible of all is Medea. She dominates the action in the play which bears her name from the beginning, even before she appears on the stage, and continues to do so through to the end. Jason is a poor, weak, intriguing creature, no match for the terrible and masterful woman to whom he is wedded. In the character of Medea, and particularly in the scene in which she decides to kill her children in order to be revenged upon her

husband, the tragic genius of Euripides reaches its highest pinnacle.

In none of the other extant plays is there a character which can approach Medea as a tragic figure, and yet there are characters which are distinctly tragic. For example in the *Bacchae* Agave in her wild frenzy with the head of her son Pentheus whom she and her companions have slain in the belief that he was a wild beast is one of the most dreadful figures in Euripides. Her terrible deed has, however, been done in ignorance while she was in a Bacchic frenzy and so differs from the deliberate action of Medea. Phaedra, too, in the *Hippolytus* is tragic. The nurse discovers her secret, but by revealing it to Hippolytus she puts her mistress into a position of shame and disgrace from which she concludes that death is the only way out. Here the passion for revenge dominates her, and before she kills herself she writes the letter to Theseus falsely accusing the innocent Hippolytus and knowing that it will result in his ruin. Phaedra, then, is a real tragic figure.

But the fact is that the tragedy of Euripides does not depend for its effect upon one outstanding tragic character, part of whose life is set before the audience; but rather upon certain more or less tragic situations brought about in a variety of ways. Hecuba in the play of that name is tragic only in the misfortunes which come upon her. We pity the misery of the aged woman and resent the repeated blows which fate deals her; but we do not look upon her as a tragic character even when, at the end of the play, she brings about the ruin of the false Thracian king who had murdered her youngest boy, Polydorus, for his money. This whole play is an exhibition of mental distress which is almost too much for human endurance. Much the same thing is found in the *Troades*.[1] In both tragedies the poet no doubt

[1] Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, XXIX, 4, tells an anecdote of the bloody and cruel Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, that he left the theatre where the *Troades* was being played and explained to the principal actor that he did so because he did not wish his people to see him weeping at the misfortunes of Hecuba and Andromache.

depended upon the action and the stage setting for the effect produced on his audience.

Human misery, however, cannot interest any audience for long. There is nothing of which one gets weary so soon. Euripides must have been well aware of this, and it may have been for that reason that he conceived the plan of writing a tragedy in which the ending should be happy. This type of drama, which only by courtesy may be called tragedy, is his invention; and some of his most successful plays are of this kind. The *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, the *Helen*, the *Ion* and, perhaps, we might add, the *Heraclidae* and the *Suppliants* belong to this class. For the children of Heracles are saved and their enemy Eurystheus is brought in at the end a prisoner and condemned to death; while in the *Suppliants* the remains of the heroes who had been killed at Thebes are recovered and brought back. That is to say the object desired by the aged women who form the chorus is attained though it is a sad one. One other play should, perhaps, be added to this list, the *Hypsipyle*, for although we do not have a complete text of it enough was recovered at Oxyrhynchus in 1906 to make the plot clear.

Furthermore the tragedy of Euripides is not the tragedy of Fate. We do not find in his plays an inexorable decree destined to be carried out to the letter irrespective of the doings of the hero and dominating the action. We find that in Sophocles. In the *Oedipus Tyrannus* Oedipus is a noble character who without knowing it has committed two great crimes. These crimes he was destined to commit by a higher power which he had no means of resisting. They are what brought about his ruin. There is nothing of this sort in Euripides. The tragedy here depends upon a combination of circumstances which are entirely human. In the *Bacchae*, to be sure, we find a mortal man who refuses to accept the divinity of a newly proclaimed god and he meets with disaster. But Pentheus acts much as a citizen of Athens of the fifth century B.C. might be expected to act under similar circumstances. He resists a power in which

he does not believe, and resents the fact that members of his own family are ready to acknowledge this new power as divine. The attitude of Pentheus may well be compared with that of the head of a family today who had learned that important members of his household had suddenly adopted some peculiar religious cult. Pentheus is a mortal resisting a god. His fate can be foreseen, but it is the natural outcome of his own acts. There is no decree of fate here determined long before and being carried out regardless of human actions.

What then is the object of the tragedy of Euripides? It has no single object but rather the object varies with the play. Now it is to excite pity in true Aristotelian fashion, and this, perhaps, may be said to be its dominant motive. We pity the unfortunate children of Heracles in the *Heraclidae* before we know what their fate will be. We pity the unfortunate old women who form the chorus in the *Suppliants*. We pity Andromache in the play which bears her name and are angry at Menelaus and his daughter. We pity the unfortunate Hecuba and the innocent Hippolytus. In fact there is hardly a play in which pity does not have an important place. But other emotions are also excited. In the *Medea* our feeling is one of horror when we find the sorceress burning the princess to death by means of her magic gifts and deliberately murdering her own children. Horror again overcomes us when we see the sufferings of the Trojan women in the *Troades;* and again it is horror which moves us when Agave in her Bacchic frenzy enters bearing the head of her unhappy son.

But pity and horror were not the only emotions which Euripides sought to inspire in his drama. Sometimes, as already pointed out, his motive was simply to excite interest. A good example of this type of play is the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*. Here the audience has its interest in Iphigenia aroused at the very beginning, and not merely in Iphigenia, but in Orestes as well. It knows that nothing dreadful is going to happen to either of them. It has no apprehension, but awaits with expec-

tancy the development of events. The *Helen* is in many ways a similar play, but is not so well constructed and does not have so good a plot. The audience is, however, interested in the adventures of the heroine.

Still another type of play is that in which the poet wishes to excite our admiration. Of this the *Alcestis* is a good example. Here is shown a model wife who will even die that her husband may live. This motive is not usual for a whole play, but Euripides uses it several times for a single scene. Thus Macaria's deed of heroism in sacrificing herself for her brothers and sisters in the *Heraclidae;* or Iphigenia in the *Iphigenia at Aulis* going willingly to her death when she is convinced that she is really giving her life for her country, and knows that her death will make possible the sailing of the fleet.

One feature of the tragedy of Euripides which has often been misinterpreted is his custom of making his characters speak as he conceives such people would speak in Athens in his own time. This, I think, is closely connected with the simple, though polished language which he makes them use. His kings and queens talk as well-bred Athenians of the fifth century B.C. might talk, and they talk about the subjects which might be presumed to interest the same people. Thus, if they occasionally indulge in philosophical speculations, it is what might be expected. It is often said in regard to such passages that in them Euripides is setting forth his own ideas. That inference does not necessarily follow. He makes his heroes and heroines talk as he was accustomed to hear educated men and women talk. Whether or not the ideas set forth are his own is another question not to be determined from the words in the play.

The tragedy of Euripides, then, is seen to be tragedy with various motives. The plots develop in accordance with the circumstances which the incidents call forth. The interests are human interests, and they are not dominated by a preordained fate from which there is no escape.

The Child Motive

This being the case and the dominant note of his tragedy being that of pity, it is not surprising to find Euripides making frequent use of children in his dramas. Under the conventions of the Greek theatre which permitted not more than three speaking actors on the stage at one time it was usually not possible for him to give them even short speeches, unless, as in the *Ion*, the child was made one of the chief characters in the play. As a consequence he had to use them as silent characters. In the *Alcestis*, to be sure, we find the lyric lines 393–403 and 406–415 assigned to the little boy; in the *Suppliants* (1114–1164) the sons of the dead heroes take part in a lyric dialogue with the chorus; and in the *Andromache* Molossus takes part in a lyric lament with his mother (504–536). But these passages are exceptional. How effectually he made use of children has not generally been observed because we are familiar with the plays from reading them, not seeing them acted on the stage, and we usually fail to visualize the scenes. A careful examination of them, however, will show how often he depended on children to produce the effect he desired.

The fondness of the Greek for his children is well known. Thus when Heracles in the *Heracles Furens* (634–636) says:

> Men love their children, both the better off
> And those of no account; for some have wealth
> And others have it not, but all the race
> Has love for children,[1]

he is repeating a familiar sentiment. The same idea is found in the *Andromache* (418 f.), where she says:

> For every man his children are his soul.[2]

[1] φιλοῦσι παῖδας οἵ τ'ἀμείνονες βροτῶν
οἵ τ' οὐδὲν ὄντες·χρήμασιν δὲ διάφοροι·
ἔχουσιν, οἵ δ'οὔ·πᾶν δὲ φιλότεκνον γένος.

[2] πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ'ἦν
ψυχὴ τέκν'.

Other passages might be quoted to the same effect. With this universal love of children among the Greeks recognized, it is easy to see that nothing could so arouse the sympathy of a Greek audience as the sight of a child suffering or in danger. Euripides fully appreciated this and he introduced children into no fewer than ten of his extant plays.

The best example of this employment of children to excite feelings of pity and fear in the minds of the spectators, as prescribed by Aristotle, is the *Medea*. This play will be discussed more fully later, but it will not be out of place to recall here the part of the children in it. They make their appearance for the first time with their aged attendant (the paidagogos) in line 46. The old man has heard that they are to be banished, but the nurse, with whom he talks, cannot believe that their father will permit such an outrage. The boys remain on the stage until line 105, though the nurse knowing the savage nature of their mother cautions them to keep out of her sight. She sees them, however, and is heard behind the scenes crying out (112 ff.)

> Ye children accursed of a mother distressed,
> May ye die with your sire and the house pass away.

Here we have the dominant thought in Medea's mind, to strike Jason through the annihilation of his family. Thus our sympathies are with the children from the first and the poet sees to it that the interest in them which has been aroused is maintained. So when Creon orders Medea to leave Corinth he tells her to take her boys with her (273), and her request for leniency is on the ground of pity for the children (344). Jason is willing that his boys should go into exile with their mother (461), and Medea reproaches him for it (513 ff.). He maintains that his marriage with the princess is for the advantage of both the children and their mother (550), that he will look out for them (562 and 620), and that the children born of the new union will by their royal birth be able to assist Medea's boys

(563, 566, 596 f.). After Medea has obtained a place of refuge from Aegeus she sees how she may obtain her revenge through her boys. She will ask Jason to beg the king to let them remain in Corinth (780 f.), but really means to kill them herself (803). Jason is sent for and the children are called in (894 ff.) to beg their father to intercede for them. He declares that he has their interests at heart (914 ff.) and prays that they may grow up to overcome his enemies. Medea promises to send them with gifts to the new bride that their petition to the king to stay may more readily be granted (947 ff.). They take the gifts to the palace and soon return (1002 ff.) telling of the successful accomplishment of their errand. The chorus know that the death of the children cannot be averted (976 ff.). News is brought of the death of the princess, and Medea prepares to put her plan into effect. The screams of the children are heard within the house (1273 ff.). Jason comes in haste to save his boys from the infuriated Corinthians only to find them already slain by their mother (1309), who appears on high with their bodies in her chariot drawn by serpents.

From this outline of the play it can be seen how largely the plot is built about the children through whose death Medea obtains her revenge upon her husband. Our main interest is not with the worthless, self-seeking Jason, and we have little sympathy with the cruel and savage Medea; but we are deeply concerned with the fate of the children to whom the poet is constantly bringing us back. Thus, although they are silent characters, they become through the action of first importance in the drama.

Another play in which the child motive is prominent is the *Heraclidae*. Here the situation is somewhat different from that in the *Medea*, for it is not necessary to depend so much on the action to bring out the children's part. In fact that is suggested by the very title. At the opening of the play we find the children of Heracles, who have escaped from the cruelty of Eurystheus at Argos, sitting as suppliants at the shrine of Zeus

at Marathon. Iolaus and the sons are grouped about the altar in front of the temple, while their grandmother, Alcmena, and the daughters have taken refuge within the building. The boys are thus on the stage from the beginning, and there they remain during the whole play. They have no speaking part, but the conversation is largely concerned with them. The girls, following Athenian convention, are kept indoors, with the exception of Macaria who offers her life to save her brothers and sisters. The interest of the spectator in the first part of the play lies in the fate of the children, that is, whether the herald of Eurystheus with all his threats and bluster and show of power will prevail over Demophon and carry them back to Argos; and it reaches a climax in the noble self-sacrifice of Macaria. In the second half of the play the interest centres rather about the aged Iolaus and the coming battle between the Athenians and Argives, and finally in the defeat and capture of Eurystheus. But we are not permitted to forget the children, who are still on the stage ready to enjoy their grandmother's triumph over their arch-enemy. Here, then, we find Euripides again employing children in order to make his appeal to the spectators and to hold their interest.

The child motive is used in a somewhat similar way in the *Suppliants*, the scene of which is laid at Eleusis. Here the mothers of the seven chiefs who made the disastrous expedition against Thebes beg Aethra to intercede for them with her son, Theseus, and persuade him to rescue their bodies which still lie unburied. Adrastus with a band of boys, sons of the dead heroes, accompanies the aged women. Theseus is at first disinclined to interfere, but at length assembles his army, marches to Thebes, recovers the bodies and returns with them. They are solemnly brought in closely covered and then removed to be burned. When this duty has been performed the boys enter bearing the urns which they are later to convey to Argos. Here the boys are on the stage at the very beginning of the play and they remain there, except for one scene (955–1113), until the

end. Thus we find Adrastus on the stage at lines 513, 589, 734, 798, etc., and the boys are evidently with him. At 794, when the funeral procession is seen approaching, the boys no doubt manifest their grief as do the members of the chorus, and so have a part in the action; but there is no indication that they speak. At 954 they apparently leave the stage with Adrastus when the bodies of the heroes are removed, and they bring back the urns with the ashes. At 1123 we find them engaged in a lyric dialogue with the chorus.

Here, then, is a tragedy in which the poet has introduced a band of children, which, except for one short passage, has no part in the dialogue, and yet is on the stage during practically the whole play. They might have been omitted without serious injury to the plot. What was the poet's object? Partly, perhaps, spectacular, for in the stage setting the grouping of the children must have been effective; but more important than this was the fact that with the help of the boys he could make his appeal to the audience more vividly. In other words these fatherless children had a definite part in the action and assisted materially in arousing feelings of compassion in the minds of the spectators. The presence of the boys, therefore, is justified dramatically.

Another tragedy in which the child motive is made the principal theme is the *Heracles Furens*. Here, as in the *Medea*, our interests are wrapped up in the fate of certain children. At the beginning of the play we find Lycus, the new king of Thebes who supposes Heracles to be dead, determined to kill his children for fear they may avenge the death of their grandfather Creon (lines 166 ff.; 547). Their mother, Megara, who enters with them (98 and 336) describes their anxiety during the long absence of their father in the Lower World, and from this point on their unfortunate position is constantly kept before the audience (e.g. lines 249, 262, 291, 329, etc.). The chorus is not slow to express its indignation at the state of affairs. Lycus at length permits the mother and children to enter their house so that she

may clothe them in garments suitable for the dead (332 ff.). At line 442 they are again seen approaching and they enter at 451. In the long speech that follows Megara laments the fate in store for them and tells of the plans which Heracles had made for their future. Both Megara and Amphitryon are in despair and can see nothing but death before them when Heracles himself suddenly enters (514). The children now dressed as if for burial with wreaths on their heads run to him and cling to his garments. Heracles, who is naturally perplexed, tells them to throw off their wreaths and go home, but they cling to him more desperately than ever. And here we have put into the mouth of the hero the words already quoted, that everybody loves children, no matter what his position in society. Then, in keeping with the spirit of his words, he picks them all up in his arms and carries them into the house. When Lycus comes to seize them he is quickly despatched.

From this analysis of the first half of the play it is clear that the poet's object is to arouse the interest and pity of the audience in the tragic situation of the children, which is at length relieved by the unexpected return of their father. The real tragedy then follows; but it is the fate of the children in which we are still interested. Heracles becomes temporarily insane, and while in that condition kills the children and their mother. This, of course, is supposed to take place off the stage, but a messenger enters with details of the dreadful slaughter (922 ff.). The interior of the house is now shown by means of the eccyclema with the dead bodies lying where they fell. Heracles recovers his senses and is overcome with horror and remorse at his dreadful deed. He gives orders for their burial and bidding them a touching farewell he leaves the stage.

During the second part of the play the spectators are deeply moved by a feeling of pity for the strong man who has been forced by a power mightier than himself to commit a great crime against those who are dearest to him; but they are also moved by the tragic fate of the children, rescued from a cruel

tyrant only to die by their father's hand. The child motive is thus seen to be a dominant motive in the play.

In the *Ion* the situation is somewhat different. There it is one child, not several, in whom we are interested, and he is a speaking, not a silent, character. Ion is represented as a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, and he not only gives his name to the play, but the whole plot is constructed about him. From the very beginning our attention is fixed upon him and his fortunes. This play, however, and his part in it will be discussed more fully later, and call for no further notice here.

In the five tragedies just discussed the child motive is the important one in the play. In five others a child or children are introduced effectively in one or more scenes. These plays are the *Troades*, the *Andromache*, the *Hecuba*, the *Alcestis* and the *Iphigenia at Aulis*. The first part of the *Troades* has to do with the misfortunes of the Trojan women after the fall of Troy; but at line 577 Andromache, now a captive, is brought in riding on a cart with her little boy Astyanax. He remains on the stage with his mother and grandmother until line 789 when he is torn away from Hecuba's arms and carried off by the Greeks to be hurled to his death from the walls of Troy. Though no words are spoken by the child the whole scene in which Andromache, Hecuba, Talthybius and Astyanax have a part is very tragic and most powerful dramatically. Our sympathy for the boy is deeply touched. In line 1118 his dead body is brought in and given to Hecuba for burial. There is a long lament over it by Hecuba and the chorus, until it is finally carried out at line 1250. This scene is very effective on the stage as has been proved by the presentation of the play in English in recent years, and it is made so by the action.[1] In fact the real interest of the spectator from the moment of his entrance centres about Astyanax and his unhappy fate. Hecuba, who was the principal character in the first part of the play, becomes of secondary interest.

[1] See p. 200.

In the *Andromache* once again Euripides introduces a child, but this time as an auxiliary to his principal theme. Andromache, now the slave of Neoptolemus, has borne her master a son, Molossus, while his wife, Hermione, is without offspring. Hermione detests Andromache and has only refrained from injuring her out of fear of her husband. But now Neoptolemus has gone to Delphi and Menelaus, father of Hermione, has arrived at Pharsalus to assist his daughter. Andromache realizes that she is in great danger and takes refuge at a shrine of Thetis, having first hidden her little son. Menelaus, however, succeeds in finding the boy and by threatening to kill him forces Andromache to leave her sanctuary. When he has got her into his power he declares that Hermione shall pronounce judgment upon them both, and we discover later that this judgment is death; but the aged Peleus arrives in time and rescues them, while the guilty Hermione flees from the country with Orestes, a former suitor. Molossus is on the stage from lines 309 to 765; and in lines 504 to 536 takes part with his mother in a lament to try to move Menelaus. The attention of the spectators is directed to the tragic situation of the mother and child, and pity is aroused for them both; but the presence of the little boy makes the human interest much keener than it otherwise would have been.

Even more important from a dramatic standpoint are the children in the *Alcestis*. In line 189 ff., before the entrance of Alcestis, we are told how her children, knowing that they are going to lose her, cling to her dress, and how she takes them in her arms one at a time and comforts them; that her thoughts are always of them and their future, and that she prays to Hestia[1] to give them a happy life, a loving wife to her son and a noble husband to her daughter. They are both on the stage with their mother at line 270. She bids them goodbye, and at line 375 gives them into the hands of Admetus who promises to be a mother as well as father to them. From line 371 to 392 the farewell of Alcestis is quite as much concerned with her children

[1] Lines 163 ff.

as with her husband, and when she actually dies the little son is overcome with grief (lines 393–415). The poet's knowledge of child nature is admirably shown in this short speech, for example in the boy's use of the pet-name μαῖα for his mother, and the word νεοσσός ("Birdie") which he applies to himself, evidently a term of endearment by which she liked to address him. The little girl, though on the stage, is younger and does not speak. The latter part of the play is concerned with Heracles and the rescue of Alcestis, and consequently there is no call for the presence of the children; but by bringing them in in the earlier part the poet shows his knowledge of human nature and his skill as a dramatist. They add greatly to the interest of the audience both in the scene in which they appear and in the subsequent development of the plot.

In the *Hecuba*, too, children are introduced for tragic effect. I do not refer to Polydorus and Polyxena, who are grown children, but at the end of the play when Hecuba determines to be revenged upon the treacherous king Polymestor, she invites him to come to her hut with his young sons to hear certain secret information which she has to impart. At line 953 Polymestor enters accompanied by his boys. He is inveigled indoors where he is blinded and his sons killed. They were apparently small enough to be passed along from hand to hand (line 1157), a fact which increases the horror of the situation. The spectators might not be particularly distressed at the punishment of Polymestor, which they would no doubt feel was well deserved; but by including the children the poet has added another tragic element which was sure to move his audience.

Once more, in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Euripides brings a child upon the stage. In the tragic scene in which Iphigenia begs her father to spare her life we find Orestes, who is little more than a baby, playing a part. At line 1119 Clytaemnestra tells Iphigenia to come out of the house and to bring Orestes with her. He is with her on the stage during the following scene (see line 1165) and at line 1241 Iphigenia holds him up and begs

him to intercede with Agamemnon for her. She declares that he does so,[1] and thus, by his presence, adds to the touching character of the scene.

The fact that children play so important a part in these ten tragedies is significant for the proper understanding of the drama of Euripides. There are indications that the extant plays are not exceptional in this respect, but that he also made frequent use of them in the plays which have not survived. In addition they are often referred to even in plays where mention of them might not be expected. In other words, as a true student of human nature Euripides recognized the possibilities of the child on the stage. His dramatic instinct saw clearly that an appeal made through children would go straight to the hearts of the spectators. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the child motive occupying so conspicuous a place in his tragedy.

Humor

In considering the work of a tragic poet one might, perhaps, take it for granted that there would be little or no place in it for humor, but such is not the case with Euripides. The very nature of his compositions, if we except the satyr drama, excludes anything which can in any way be called comic; but failure to see that he had a sense of humor, and that he did not hesitate to resort to it whenever by means of it he could produce a desired effect, is failure to appreciate his genius as a dramatist. We are familiar with the way in which Shakespeare sometimes introduces a clown, or a jester, or a porter to relieve a tense situation. Such characters are not to be found in Euripides, and yet he does produce a somewhat similar result, though in a more subtle way.

Speaking generally there are two methods by which Euripides introduces a humorous element into his tragedies, one by bringing in an aged person who unconsciously makes himself ridiculous; the other by the skilful use of the so-called *double*

[1] Line 1245 *ἰδοὺ σιωπῶν λίσσεταί σ'ὅδ',ὦ πάτερ.*

entendre, that is, where the words used convey one meaning to the character addressed, and a very different meaning to the audience who are in the secret. In the latter case the dullness of the unpopular character, if he may be so called, is often emphasized to the amusement of the spectators. An out-and-out comic character would be out of place in the tragedy of Euripides for the very good reason that the poet never aims to produce a hearty laugh on the part of the audience, but merely an amused smile. This does not hold true of the satyr drama, as a perusal of the *Cyclops* quickly shows.

It may, perhaps, be objected that there are characters in Euripides which cannot be called tragic, such, for example, as Heracles and Thanatos in the *Alcestis*. But it must be remembered that tradition says that this play took the place of a satyr drama, and that, although Heracles is peculiarly a character of the comic stage, he is not comic here. What the poet is aiming at is to create an amused interest in the doings of the big man of antiquity and to show his good nature, not to make his audience laugh. Moreover Thanatos is not ridiculous, but rather horrible or disgusting. At the same time we have in the last scene of the *Alcestis* an example of the subtle humor of Euripides. The audience knows that the veiled woman is the queen, and poet and audience alike enjoy the little trick played upon Admetus, who, even when he sees her face, can scarcely believe that Alcestis has been restored to him.

Various instances may be pointed out in the tragedies of Euripides where he introduces an aged character whose earnestness and desire to do more than his strength permits amuses the spectators. For example in the *Heraclidae* (ll. 646 ff.) the aged Alcmena is called out of the house to hear the report of a messenger. She does not understand the purport of his message and thinks it means that the children of Heracles are to be carried off, and, old and weak as she is, she vows that as long as she lives she will not let her son's children be taken away by their enemy. Anybody who attempts it will have to fight with

her and with Iolaus, too. This sudden exhibition of spirit by the aged mother of Heracles would certainly occasion a smile which would be augmented when Iolaus, now an old man, declares his intention of taking part in the coming battle (ll. 680 ff.). The messenger tries to dissuade him on the ground that he has the will, but not the strength to fight (*δρᾶν μὲν σύ γ' οὐχ οἷός τε, βούλεσθαι δ'ἴσως*), but he determines to make use of some armor which he knows to be in the temple of Heracles. The two at length set out with the slave carrying the armor, though he pertinently asks whether he must play the part of child's bodyguard to a soldier (l. 729, *ἦ παιδαγωγεῖν γὰρ τὸν ὁπλίτην χρεών;*). The old man urges him on, though it is his own slowness which is keeping them back (*σύ τοι βραδύνεις, οὐκ ἐγώ, δοκῶν τι δρᾶν*, says the slave, l. 733); but Iolaus thinks only of his own efforts. The will is father to the thought (*οὐκοῦν ὁρᾷς μοῦ κῶλον ὡς ἐπείγεται;*). The earnestness of the old man and his efforts to move faster than his age permits would certainly cause amusement. The humor, of course, lies in the action, rather than in the words. The fact that later on we are told that a miracle has occurred and that Iolaus recovered his youth for a day does not alter the situation.

Not unlike this is the passage in the *Ion* where Creusa in company with her aged servant starts for the temple (ll. 739 ff.). Again it is the strength which is lacking though the will is there. And here, too, as in the *Heraclidae*, the humor lies in the action, not the words. It might be added here that in this play there is also a bit of humor in the account of the old slave who arranged the drinking bowls (ll. 1178 f.).

Somewhat similar is a scene in the *Electra* (ll. 558 ff.) where the old slave circling around the disguised Orestes and staring at him and finally penetrating his disguise amuses the audience by his action. Here the further purpose of identifying Orestes and making him known to his sister is brought about, but the method which the poet takes to do this shows that he realizes that a touch of humor at this point is natural and would delight the spectators.

In the *Bacchae* we find a situation which is humorous and tragic at the same time. King Pentheus unable to suppress the Bacchants resolves to go to the mountains and behold them in the midst of their revels. Dionysus (ll. 821 ff.) proposes to disguise him as a woman so that he may not be detected. Pentheus at first objects (*οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην θῆλυν ἐνδῦναι στολήν*, l. 836), but eventually yields and consents to the disguise. This, however, can be brought about only by the temporary derangement of the king, which is effected by Dionysus. The poet makes this clear when Pentheus comes out of the house in woman's attire and declares that he sees two suns and two cities of Thebes. The scene is inexpressibly tragic, and yet the mad Pentheus must have been a ludicrous figure in his woman's dress, thinking that he could be mistaken for Ino or Agave (l. 925). The audience could hardly repress a smile as Dionysus offers to fix a stray lock of his hair or to adjust his dress. So, just as the aged Iolaus in the *Heraclidae* and the old slave in the *Ion* are not conscious that their actions make them ridiculous, the mad Pentheus has no perception of the absurdity either of his appearance or of his conduct.

A somewhat different manifestation of humor in the tragedies of Euripides occurs in those passages already alluded to where an unpopular character deceives himself by misunderstanding words which are capable of two interpretations. A good example of this is to be found in the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* ll. 1197 ff. In that line Iphigenia who has been explaining that the prisoners need purifying, says "I need a deserted place, for I shall do other things" (*ἐρημίας δεῖ· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλα δράσομεν*). The barbarian king thinks that she refers to the performance of other mysterious rites, whereas the audience knows that she is hinting at her attempted escape from the country. Again in line 1221 when she prays that the "purification" may turn out as she wishes, the king to the amusement of the audience declares that he prays for the same thing. A little later (ll. 1231 ff.) when Iphigenia says that if she sacrifices where she ought the

goddess will have a pure house, etc., she is again speaking with a double meaning.

Other examples of this same device might be pointed out. Thus in the *Helen*, l. 1201, Helen referring to the disguised Menelaus says "May he go where I want him to" (*μόλοι γὰρ οἷ σφ' ἐγὼ χρῄζω μολεῖν*), words which the king misunderstands. So, too, lines 1205, 1287 and especially 1294–1300 have a very definite meaning to Helen and Menelaus whom Theoclymenus supposes to be a shipwrecked sailor, while they mean little or nothing to the king. Later on, when the plan for escape has been completed, Helen says to Theoclymenus (ll. 1405 ff.),

> And may the gods now grant thee what I wish,
> And that this stranger join us in these rites.
> And thou shalt have me such a wife as thou
> Shouldst have within thy house; since both to me
> And Menelaus thou dost prove a friend.

The irony of her words is lost upon the king, who readily gives the ship upon which Helen and Menelaus are to escape. The double meaning is continued in lines 1418 and 1420 to the eventual discomfort of the king and the amusement of the audience.

It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that Euripides always used this motive with a humorous turn. Several passages might be cited where the poet employs it in which the tragic situations very effectually prove that there was no place for humor. For example, in the *Iphigenia at Aulis* (l. 669) Agamemnon tells his daughter that she is to make a journey alone apart from father or mother, referring to her coming death (*μόνη, μονωθεῖσ' ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος*); and again (line 673) hints at the terrible sacrifice which he is about to make (*θῦσαί με θυσίαν πρῶτα δεῖ τιν' ἐνθάδε*). Something of the same kind occurs in the *Medea*. In line 1016 she hints at the terrible crimes which she is about to commit in language which might be misunderstood (*ἄλλους κατάξω πρόσθεν ἢ τάλαιν' ἐγώ*), and in

the famous speech to her children (ll. 1021 ff.) her words frequently mean one thing where they appear to mean another. These and various other passages which might be quoted make it clear that the use of words susceptible of a double meaning did not necessarily imply humor. It was a device sometimes used by Euripides to bring a smile to the faces of the spectators, but it was also used by him for other purposes where any suggestion of humor would be entirely out of place.

Passing from tragedy to the satyr drama we find conditions very different. Here the poet's chief object is to cause a laugh and he does it partly by the situations which he creates, partly by the language, and partly by the costuming. In the *Cyclops* Silenus is distinctly a comic character, and so is the Cyclops. Both must have been grotesquely costumed, for Euripides was always keenly alive to the possibilities of the stage setting. The language of Silenus is in keeping with his part. Thus his comment when Odysseus tells him who he is, that he knows a thorough scoundrel by that name (l. 104, *οἶδ' ἄνδρα κρόταλον δριμύ, Σισύφου γένος*) is a bit of repartee worthy of Aristophanes. So, too, line 265 where we find him swearing by the fishes. His antics when he sees the wine (ll. 153 ff.) and his efforts to get a taste from the bowl of the Cyclops (ll. 545 ff.) must have been very absurd. Add to this the caperings of the chorus of satyrs and the blind Polyphemus at the end of the play bumping his head against the rocks of his cave in his vain efforts to follow the advice of the chorus and catch the elusive "Noman" and we have situations which would be funny on any stage.

The *Cyclops*, then, as was to be expected shows a sense of humor, but of a simpler and bolder type than was possible in tragedy. Its analogies are to be sought in the unrestrained fields of the Old Comedy.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXTANT PLAYS

THE ALCESTIS—THE ANDROMACHE—THE BACCHAE—THE CYCLOPS —THE ELECTRA—THE HECUBA—THE HELEN—THE HERACLES FURENS—THE HERACLIDAE—THE HIPPOLYTUS—THE ION —THE IPHIGENIA AMONG THE TAURIANS—THE IPHIGENIA AT AULIS—THE MEDEA—THE ORESTES—THE PHOENISSAE—THE RHESUS—THE SUPPLIANTS—THE TROADES

To obtain a clear and comprehensive idea of the dramatic genius of Euripides the first and most important thing is to make a careful study of the extant plays. This should be done from the Greek text, not from an English version; not because translation is altogether to be condemned. It cannot be wholly dispensed with; but however good it may be it is almost certain to lose something of the original, and too often it introduces elements altogether lacking in the Greek. In the accounts of the nineteen extant plays which follow I have endeavored to set forth as briefly as is consistent with the subject all that is really essential for a knowledge of each play. The plot is given, the poet's object in writing the play where that is clear, notice of the principal characters, and such other information as may be useful in giving the reader a true appreciation of the drama under discussion. Occasionally I have translated, and for that purpose have employed blank verse for the Greek trimeters, as is usually done, and various forms of simple English verse without rhyme for the lyric passages.

It might, perhaps, be expected that in the arrangement of the material a chronological order would be adopted with the idea of showing what developments the tragedy of Euripides under-

went as he grew older. But this is too problematical with our present knowledge. The dates of few of the plays are definitely known; and, furthermore, the reader soon discovers that plays having similar characteristics may be both early and late. For example the *Medea* and the *Bacchae* are tragedies with harrowing scenes, and yet the former was brought out in 431 B.C. and the latter after the poet's death. The *Alcestis* brought out in 438 B.C. is the earliest of the extant plays which can be dated, but nevertheless it has a happy ending like some of the later plays, such as the *Helen* produced in 412 B.C. It has, therefore, seemed wiser to arrange the plays in alphabetical order, beginning with the *Alcestis* and ending with the *Troades*. Where the dates are preserved they are given; but where they are merely conjectured it has not always seemed necessary to include a discussion of the evidence.

Two plays, the *Ion* and the *Medea*, I have treated at somewhat greater length than the others and I have translated a considerable amount of each. Of these the former is an excellent example of that type of tragedy which ends happily; the latter is the strongest of the extant dramas.

I

The Alcestis

A play which has some unusual features, but much charm, and which has been a very general favorite with readers of Euripides, is the *Alcestis*. It was brought out in the year 438 B.C. and is thus the oldest of the extant plays for which we have the exact date.[1] It was the fourth play of a tetralogy, the three others being the *Cretan Women*, the *Alcmaeon at Psophis* and the *Telephus*.[2] The group won second place. Sophocles was first, but with what plays is unknown. According to the Hypothesis

[1] ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Γλαυκίνου ἄρχοντος ὀλ<υμπιάδος $\overline{\pi\varepsilon}$ ἔτει $\overline{\beta}$>. The completion of the sentence is due to Dindorf and is probably correct, for Glaucinus was archon that year, i.e. 438 B.C.

[2] See Hypothesis.

the *Alcestis* was the seventeenth drama of Euripides in the order of composition—at least that seems to be the natural interpretation of the words.[1] Some of its unusual features such as the character of Heracles, and the Thanatos in the opening scene, are undoubtedly due to the fact that the *Alcestis* took the place of a satyr drama. The scene is laid at Pherae in front of the palace of Admetus.

The plot is this. When Zeus slew Asclepius, the son of Apollo, Apollo in anger slew the Cyclopes, forgers of the thunderbolts of Zeus, and as a punishment for this crime he was compelled to serve as a slave in the house of Admetus, king of Pherae in Thessaly. The god was well treated by the king and in gratitude had obtained from him the privilege of not dying when his appointed time came provided that somebody would volunteer to take his place. Admetus had tried in vain to persuade one of the older members of his household to do so, but his wife Alcestis alone was willing to die for him. This is explained in the short prologue which is spoken by Apollo. All this had happened long before the beginning of the play—a fact which it is very necessary to remember if we are to understand the plot aright. The fated day has now come and Death (Thanatos) enters to claim his victim. Apollo tries to dissuade him, but to no purpose. Death does not propose to be robbed a second time and insists upon his rights. Apollo leaves with a vague prediction of what is to follow. After a brief ode by the chorus, who consist of old men of Pherae, a serving-maid enters weeping and tells them of the doings within the house. The nobility of Alcestis and her devotion to her husband and children form the theme of her discourse. Admetus then enters with Alcestis, who is borne in on a couch. Her strength is almost gone, but she urges Admetus to take care of their children and not to marry a woman who might be cruel to them. He promises, and vows his devotion. She bids them a last farewell and dies. Her little boy

[1] τὸ δρᾶμα ἐποιήθη ιζ'.

who is standing by calls to her piteously. Admetus is overcome with grief, but gives directions for mourning in the house. A choral song follows in which the devotion of Alcestis is praised. Then Heracles enters and inquires for the house of Admetus. He is the usual big, burly, jovial hero of the Greek stage. He is on his way to perform one of his Labors, the capture of the horses of Diomedes. Admetus hastens to meet him, and although he is weighed down with sorrow he feels that he must show his hospitality and entertain his old friend. He leads him to believe that the signs of mourning which he sees are for some unimportant member of the household. Heracles is reluctant to stay, but at length decides to do so. The chorus sings of the hospitable house. The aged Pheres, father of Admetus, approaches to console his son. He praises Alcestis, but Admetus is in no mood to receive his consolations. He bitterly reproaches the old man for not having volunteered to die for him, and thus, in a way, he regards him as being responsible for the death of Alcestis. Pheres, however, who takes a common-sense view of the whole situation, defends himself and rebukes Admetus for being willing to let his wife give her life for him. The mutual reproaches which follow introduce a discordant and disagreeable note and they must be explained as due at least in part to the distracted condition of Admetus. Pheres and Admetus leave the stage and a servant enters. He is shocked and disgusted at the conduct of Heracles who, ignorant of the true state of affairs, has been drinking heavily and singing in riotous fashion. Heracles comes in and rebukes the man for his gloomy looks, but at length discovers that the woman who had died was the queen. This news at once sobers him, and he determines to go to the tomb and compel Thanatos by force to give up Alcestis. He sets out prepared for a struggle. In the mean time Admetus returns from the tomb. He is overcome by grief and pours forth his laments in which the chorus share, though they try to console him. In the midst of their sorrow Heracles enters accompanied by a veiled woman. He gently rebukes Admetus

for not letting him know that the queen had died and apologizes for his own conduct. He asks Admetus to take care of the veiled woman for him, explaining that he had won her as a prize after a hard struggle. Admetus begs him to take his captive somewhere else for safe-keeping and declines to receive her, but when Heracles insists he at length very reluctantly consents to do so. But Heracles is not satisfied. Admetus must lift her veil and look at her face. This he does and beholds his lost wife. He cannot believe that it is she, but thinks her some phantom sent by the gods. Heracles assures him that it is Alcestis herself. He has conquered Thanatos and brought her back, but she cannot speak to him until sacrifices are made to the deities of the world below and two days elapse. Heracles takes his leave and Admetus bids his people dance for joy and make sacrifices. And so, while the chorus moralizes that the ways of the gods are past finding out, the play comes to an end.

The *Alcestis* fascinates and pleases the modern reader as it must have done the spectator in the theatre of ancient Athens. The whole spirit of the play is good. There are, to be sure, things in it which are not to be taken literally. The ancient Athenian knew perfectly well that the dead could not be brought back to life again, but that did not spoil his enjoyment of the performance. The supernatural element is on a par with that in the *Medea* where the heroine appears on high in a chariot drawn by winged serpents. This too was impossible; but the knowledge that it was so does not detract from our interest in the scene. This must be borne in mind if we are to understand the *Alcestis*. Euripides never hesitated to introduce into his plays incidents or situations which could not occur in real life if by so doing he could make them more interesting or more artistic. Art, not realism, was what he was seeking. So in the *Alcestis* the fact that one of the principal incidents is possible only in the imagination does not detract from the artistic perfection of the composition.

The four chief characters in the play all require some inter-

pretation. The part of the king is the longest. Out of a total of 1163 lines, including the choral odes, which make up the play Admetus has 337 or almost a third. He enters for the first time with Alcestis while the members of the chorus are singing lines 233–243, and speaks for the first time in line 246. He is on the stage until line 434. He reappears again at line 509. At 567 he leaves the stage, but returns at 606 and remains until 740. He enters once more at line 861 and stays until the end of the play. In other words, except for three short intermissions Admetus is before the spectators from line 246 to the end of the performance. The poet, therefore, has ample opportunity to develop the character as he wishes to develop it.

Admetus as he is set before us is in no sense a hero, least of all a tragic hero. He has, to be sure, certain admirable qualities such as his absolute devotion to his wife and his feeling that the laws of hospitality are sacred and that nothing must be allowed to interfere with the entertainment and comfort of a guest. Yet in spite of his kindly disposition he is weak. At the same time he is not the poltroon that some critics have tried to make him out. "Why," they ask, "does he permit his wife to die for him? Why does he not meet his death like a man?" Such questions show a misunderstanding of the dramatic situation which Euripides has undertaken to set forth. The offer of Alcestis to die for her husband had been made long before the opening of the play, and when the fatal day arrives neither he nor anybody else can change the situation. The death of Admetus at that time would not have saved Alcestis. Neither would the death of Pheres. There is no ambiguity about the character of the king as the poet paints him for us. It is a clear portrayal. He is a dull man, deeply devoted to his wife, though he had accepted her sacrifice when she had made the offer. Again he is small minded as shown in the dialogue with Pheres. His grief for his lost wife is genuine, and it is partly that and partly his natural dullness that make him so slow to recognize Alcestis when she is brought back to him by Heracles. The poet never leaves us in doubt as to the type of man which he conceives Admetus to be.

By way of contrast with Admetus we have Alcestis. From the very nature of the situation she can have little to say. She is brought in at line 244 almost ready to breathe her last, and makes but one long speech (lines 280–325). Again, at line 1008, she is led in veiled and remains silent to the end. Yet in spite of her very short speaking part there is no vagueness about her character. She is the faithful, loving wife willing to give even her life for her husband, but she does not want to die. This is natural. But now that the fated time has come she knows that she cannot draw back. Her personality dominates the play and justifies its title. In spite of the fact that Admetus is before the spectators so much of the time we cannot imagine the play being called the "*Admetus*."

Heracles is the familiar burly, jovial strong man, with something of the buffoon about him. His boisterous and drunken revelry is in keeping with his character, which belongs to the comic rather than to the tragic stage. But when he understands that the queen is dead, that fact sobers him at once and spurs him to his superhuman effort. He, too, can do an act of kindness to an old friend.

Pheres, the aged father of Admetus, is a person with a certain amount of common sense. He is not sentimental, and does not see why he should have volunteered to die for his son. Every man has his own life to live and the old man is as eager to cling to his as is the young man. That is his point of view. He does not at all approve of the conduct of Admetus and he speaks bitterly. He is as different as possible from his son, and his introduction into the play serves to bring out one side of the character of Admetus.

Some critics have found fault with the *Alcestis*. Thus the German historian of Greek literature Christ[1] declares it to be an inferior play and to lack unity; and the French writer Patin[2] objects to the scene between Admetus and Pheres, though he

[1] *Geschichte der Griech. Lit.* ed., 4, p. 225.
[2] *Études sur les trag. grecs*, I, pp. 214 ff.

acknowledges his admiration for the play as a whole and calls it a masterpiece. The most serious attack on it is that of A. W. Verrall.[1] He argues that Euripides does not wish the audience to take the story seriously; that Alcestis merely faints; that the scene between Apollo and Death was written to discredit Apollo; that Heracles is shown in such a light that it would be absurd to regard him as even semi-divine; that the character of Admetus is utterly contemptible. This theory, which Verrall sets forth at great length, he also applies *mutata mutanda* to several other plays. If we are to believe it Euripides was simply a writer of immense cleverness who cared nothing for the beauty of the old myths which he treated, or for their artistic development; that his sole object was to cast ridicule upon them for the sake of the few people in the audience who were as clever as he was and able to understand his hints. Nobody, so far as I am aware, has been convinced by this strange argument which must be rejected as being pure fantasy. Its author seems to miss completely the spirit of Euripides.

Most modern readers will, I think, take the view set forth by Maurice Croiset.[2] He acknowledges his admiration for the play, and thinks its beauty lies in the sentiments displayed, the tenderness and piety of Alcestis and her firmness of mind. The grief of Admetus, a poor character but affectionate and sincere, and the touching sorrows of the servants are all depicted with truth and delicacy. The keynote of the play, if I may use the expression, I find in lines 154 f.[3]

> How could a woman greater honor show
> Her husband than to wish to die for him?

This, in a measure, justifies the part of Admetus. Euripides chose as his theme the supreme devotion of a wife to her husband,

[1] *Euripides the Rationalist*, pp. 1 ff.
[2] *Histoire de la lit. grecque*, III, p. 298.
[3] πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐνδείξατό τις
πόσιν προτιμῶσ' ἢ θέλουσ' ὑπερθανεῖν;

and naturally had to make the character of the husband suffer. Admetus is weak because Alcestis is strong. I find the *Alcestis* a play of great beauty.

Neither Aeschylus nor Sophocles wrote on this subject.[1] Of the Roman dramatists Attius[2] seems to have brought out an *Alcestis*, but it is doubtful if Naevius, Ennius and Livius, to whom such plays are attributed, ever wrote them. Antiphanes, a Greek poet of the Middle Comedy, seems to have written a parody of the play, and the *Admetus* of Aristomenes may also have been a parody. The most interesting modern treatment of the myth is Browning's *Balaustion's Adventure*.

II

The Andromache

Two of the extant tragedies, the *Heraclidae* and the *Suppliants*, are plays written for the glorification of Athens. In the *Andromache* the poet is again inspired by patriotic motives, but his object is rather to attack his country's enemies, the Spartans, than to praise his native land. There is thus a political motive in the play. The scholiast[3] says that he thinks the *Andromache* was written at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, but whether he is following some tradition now lost, or merely drawing an inference from the reading of the text cannot be determined. At least his statement appears plausible, for the bitter feeling against the Spartans in the play can best be understood if we imagine that it was composed at a time when Athenian hatred for Sparta was most intense, as it was in the early years of the war. Boeckh[4]

[1] Hypoth. line 15 f. παρ' οὐδετέρῳ κεῖται ἡ μυθοποιία. Plutarch, *de def. or.* ch. 15 quotes a line from Sophocles as spoken by Admetus. This has been understood by some scholars to point to an *Alcestis*, or an *Admetus* by Sophocles. If such a work ever existed it was probably a satyr play; but this evidence is not strong enough to controvert the explicit statement of the Hypothesis.

[2] Priscian, X, 10.

[3] Line 445, φαίνεται δὲ γεγραμμένον τὸ δρᾶμα ἐν ἀρχαῖς τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου.

[4] *De Trag. Gr. Princ.* p. 189.

would date the *Andromache* about 418 B.C. on the basis of lines 733 ff. where there seems to be a reference to the abandonment by Argos of her alliance with Sparta. This occurred in 420 B. C. Other dates suggested for it are 419 by Haigh[1] and 423 by Zirndorfer and by Bergk.[2] A scholium on line 445 preserves the information that the play was not produced first at Athens, and that the name of Democrates was somehow connected with it. It has been inferred, probably correctly, that it was first played at Argos,[3] but whether Democrates had charge of its production, or what connection he had with it there is no means of finding out. Democrates is not otherwise known.

The scene of the play is laid at Pharsalus in Thessaly. In the background is the home of Neoptolemus, and, perhaps, also the palace of Peleus, with the sea nearby. In the foreground is a shrine of Thetis where Andromache, the widow of Hector has taken refuge. She speaks the prologue and explains that after the fall of Troy she had been taken prisoner and given as a slave to Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. She has borne him a son, Molossus. But now Neoptolemus has married Hermione, daughter of Menelaus, and Andromache has been driven from the house in fear for her life. Hermione has accused her of plotting against her and of trying to supplant her in her husband's affections. Neoptolemus has gone to Delphi, and Hermione assisted by her father determines to take advantage of his absence to put Andromache out of the way. Anticipating trouble during her master's absence she has hidden her young son in what she regards as a secure retreat and has fled for safety to the shrine of Thetis. Such is the situation at the opening of the play. One of Andromache's former servants, still faithful to her mistress, warns her that Menelaus is looking for her boy to kill him; and she is at once sent off to seek aid from Peleus, the aged grandfather of Neoptolemus. Hermione enters and threatens

[1] *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 297.
[2] *Hermes*, XVIII, p. 490.
[3] Decharme, *Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre*, p. 191.

Andromache who declares her innocence and refuses to leave her place of refuge. In the mean time Menelaus has found Molossus and he now brings him in threatening to kill him if Andromache does not leave the sanctuary. She defends herself in a noble speech, but finally steps forth from the shrine to save the life of her son. She has no sooner done so than Menelaus orders her seized, and declares that Hermione shall be judge of what shall be done with the boy, while he decrees death for Andromache. There follows a lyric dialogue of much tenderness between Andromache and her son (510 ff.) in which the boy laments his impending death. The aged father of Achilles now enters in response to Andromache's message and learns the situation. He takes her part and bitterly reproaches Menelaus for his conduct. The latter attempts to defend himself in a specious harangue, but soon discovers that Peleus has the upper hand and decides to leave Pharsalus. Hermione learns what has happened and wishes to kill herself fearing the wrath of her husband, but is prevented by her attendants. This we learn from the nurse who tells the story to the Pharsalian women who compose the chorus. Hermione now enters tearing her hair and scratching her face in the extravagance of her despair and laments her position in a wild burst of grief which the nurse tries to quiet. At this moment Orestes arrives. He is on his way to Delphi, but stops at Pharsalus to inquire for Hermione. She hails him as her preserver and explains the situation to him. Before the fall of Troy she had been promised to Orestes, but Menelaus had changed his mind and given her to Neoptolemus. Orestes offers to rescue her and to slay her husband. The aged Peleus who has heard a report that Hermione has left her home comes to inquire and finds the story true. She has gone off with Orestes. Knowing the danger which awaits his grandson he plans to send a warning to him to Delphi, but it is too late. A messenger arrives with the news that Neoptolemus is no more. He had gone to the temple to ask Apollo for satisfaction for the death of his father when Orestes and his followers, after first

telling the Delphians that Neoptolemus was planning to rob the temple, stabbed him while he was praying. Neoptolemus did not die at once, but seizing weapons from the wall he fought valiantly until he fell overcome by the multitude of his enemies. His dead body is now brought in and mourned over by Peleus and the chorus. The Nereid Thetis enters and directs Peleus to bury the body at Delphi and to send Andromache and her son to Epirus, where Molossus will become the ancestor of a long line of kings. Peleus is to be made immortal and dwell with her in the house of Nereus. Peleus promises to do as he is bidden, and so the play comes to an end.

According to the Hypothesis the *Andromache* was classed in antiquity as a second-rate play. At least such seems to be the meaning of the words τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα τῶν δευτέρων, which we find in it. Verrall,[1] to be sure, argued that they mean that this is a second play, or sequel, and that the *Andromache* presupposes an earlier tragedy which dealt with a contest between Orestes and Neoptolemus for the hand of Hermione; but, as Haigh[2] has pointed out, the words will not admit of such an interpretation. Thus in the Hypothesis to the *Hippolytus* we find the expression τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα τῶν πρώτων, in the Hypothesis to the *Oedipus at Colonus* τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα τῶν θαυμαστῶν, in the Hypothesis to the *Antigone* τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα τῶν καλλίστων, and other phrases might be cited. The marriage of Hermione to the son of Achilles is in accord with Homeric tradition. Thus in the *Odyssey*[3] Telemachus finds Menelaus giving a banquet in her honor just before her departure to become the bride of Neoptolemus. So far does Euripides follow Homer. The marriage of Hermione and Orestes is a later tradition.

It must be admitted that the plot of the *Andromache* is not a strong one. The action does not advance steadily from the beginning, but the play falls into two parts. The first has to do

[1] *Four Plays of Euripides*, p. 22.
[2] *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 298, Note 2.
[3] *Od.* IV, 8 ff.

with the struggle between Hermione and Andromache; and the second with the events connected with the death of Neoptolemus. But in spite of this defect there are some fine passages in it, and the play would undoubtedly make an appeal to the audience. Like many other tragedies of Euripides it is clearly a play to be acted rather than read. The lack of unity would be much less apparent on the stage.

At the beginning the interest centres about the unhappy Andromache and her sufferings, and our sympathies go out to her. She is depicted by Euripides as she appears in the *Iliad*, a noble, lofty-minded woman. By force of circumstances over which she has no control she finds herself in the power of cruel and malicious enemies. She tries to calm Hermione and to relieve her of her suspicions; but now and then she cannot refrain from a retort (e.g. lines 248 and 252). In her reply (318 ff.) to the threats of Menelaus she speaks as befits a queen, and shows her scorn for his contemptible devices. Her answer to his excuses (lines 384 ff.) is full of dignity and pathos. She is distinctly the outstanding character in the play, though she does not appear after her rescue by Peleus in line 765.

In marked contrast with Andromache is the character of Hermione, who is represented as detestable in every way. She is vain (lines 147 ff.) and boasts of her fine clothes. She is cruel, and even mean enough to twit Andromache with bearing a child to the son of the man who slew her husband. When she finds that her plot to kill Andromache has failed and realizes that Neoptolemus will learn of her schemes she tries to hang herself. Her character may be explained, but not excused, by her insane jealousy. But it must be remembered also that she is a Spartan, and that it is part of the poet's object in the play to represent the enemies of Athens in as unfavorable a light as possible. Andromache is probably representing the poet's own feelings when she says (lines 445 ff.):

> Ye Spartan people by all men abhorred,
> Ye tricky plotters, lords of all that's false,

> Contrivers of base deeds, with crooked minds
> Devising devious plans and nought that's sound.
> Unjustly do ye have fair fame in Greece.
> What wickedness does not among ye dwell?
> Are there not frequent murders? Are ye not
> Possessed by shameless love of gain, and found
> With lying tongues, not saying what ye think?

The anti-Spartan feeling also accounts, at least in part, for the character of Menelaus, who is painted in just as dark colors as his daughter, and not at all in keeping with the Menelaus of Homer. He is treacherous and cruel and exults in the deception which he has practised on Andromache (line 436) and the pleasure which he is to experience from her death (515 ff.). At the same time he is a coward. He is frightened by the vehemence of the aged Peleus, and leaves his daughter to pay the penalty for her wickedness. He is indeed utterly contemptible.

The other characters call for no special comment. Peleus is admirable. In spite of his age and weakness he is not afraid of Menelaus. He lashes him with his tongue and cows him, and thus rescues Andromache and her son. He is truly a "noble-hearted old man" (εὔψυχος γέρων).

The *Andromache* is a play easy to understand. It has no hidden motive. The poet's object was to excite the pity of the spectators, and this he certainly must have accomplished. At the same time he made the most of his opportunity to arouse their hostile feelings towards Sparta.

Sophocles wrote a tragedy called *Hermione* on this same subject and a little may be learned about it from the fragments of plays based on it by the Roman poets Andronicus (one fragment) and Pacuvius (twenty-four fragments).[1] Whether it was earlier than the *Andromache* or not is unknown. The most famous modern imitation is Racine's *Andromaque*, one of the most celebrated tragedies of the classic French stage.

[1] See Ribbeck, *Scaen. Rom. Poesis Frag.* I, p. 3 and pp. 96 ff. Only two fragments of the play exist and one of these consists of a single word, see Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, I, pp. 141 ff.

III

The Bacchae

The *Bacchae* was brought out at Athens after the death of Euripides, at the same time as the *Iphigenia at Aulis* and the *Alcmaeon at Corinth*.[1] It has always been considered one of the poet's most famous plays. The text as a whole is in much better condition than that of the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, and it is evident that not merely a first draft of the play was completed by the poet, but that the greater part of it was revised by him. Towards the end, however, the text is not so good, and this may indicate that the revision was not completed. A considerable lacuna, too, coming after line 1329 contributes to the unsatisfactory condition of the last scene. In spite of this the *Bacchae* in its ending is one of the most tragic and terrible of dramas, and a masterpiece of the Greek tragic stage.

The scene of the play is laid at Thebes in front of the palace of King Pentheus. The fountain of Dirce and the stream of Ismenus are near at hand, and conspicuous in the middle ground is the monument of Semele, mother of Dionysus. Further back the remains of buildings destroyed by the divine fire when Zeus in all his splendor showed himself to Semele and caused her death, are still smoking. In the distance the slopes of Mount Cithaeron are visible. The god Dionysus, or Bacchus, enters and speaks the prologue. He tells how he has come from Asia to Thebes, his birthplace, to introduce his sacred rites and establish his divinity. He had come to Thebes first and had punished his mother's two sisters, who had denied that he was the son of Zeus, by driving them mad and sending them in a frenzy to the mountains. Cadmus, the aged king, had given up his sovereignty to his grandson, Pentheus, who is determined to drive the new comer out of the city. Dionysus has assumed human form to protect his followers. He calls upon the Bacchic women who have followed him from the East, that is, the chorus, to go

[1] Schol. to Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 67.

to the palace of Pentheus and beat their drums while he departs for Mount Cithaeron to take part in the dances being held there. The chorus sing of Dionysus and tell how Zeus sewed him up in his thigh at his untimely birth and later produced him, a god with bull's horns. With drums beating and flutes playing they call upon Thebes to join in their revels in the mountains, when, clad in fawn skins, they devour the raw flesh of a goat they have slain.

Tiresias, the aged prophet, hears the wild song at the gates of the palace and comes out. He at once summons Cadmus, and the two old men carried away by religious enthusiasm are ready to join in the orgies, crowned with ivy and brandishing the thyrsus. Pentheus enters in haste. He has been away, but has learned that during his absence the women have deserted their homes and fled to the mountains where they are engaged in revels in honor of the new god. He vows that he will put a stop to such doings and make an end of the so-called god. He is indignant to find Tiresias and Cadmus wearing fawn skins and ready to take part in the new rites. Tiresias rebukes him for his words and urges him to accept the new divinity, who has invented wine and is going to become great. Incidentally he reminds him that the story that the baby Dionysus had been sewed up in the thigh of Zeus is due to a misunderstanding by mankind. Cadmus, too, urges Pentheus to accept Dionysus as a god if only for family pride, for he is the son of Semele. Pentheus is indignant and sends guards to seize the stranger that he may be stoned to death, and to destroy the place where Tiresias had been accustomed to make his divinations. After a song by the chorus the disguised Dionysus is brought in a prisoner. The man in charge of him explains that he has come quietly with them, but that the reveling women who had been arrested had escaped, as their fetters had dropped from them and the bolts of the doors which shut them in had slipped back of their own accord. The prisoner's hands are freed and Pentheus questions him. He says he has come from Lydia and is a

follower of Dionysus. He refuses to answer the king's questions about the new god and his orgies, and Pentheus threatens to have his effeminate locks cut off and to have him imprisoned in the stables. The reveling women, too, are to be punished and set to work. The stranger goes quietly to his prison, but threatens Pentheus with punishment from Dionysus. The chorus call upon the god for assistance and a voice which they recognize is heard from within. It calls for an earthquake and the palace is shaken and fire is seen to burst forth near the tomb of Semele. At length the god enters free from his fetters. The women of the chorus throw themselves on the ground before him while he explains what has happened. Pentheus arrives and is astonished to see his prisoner free. The latter declares that it is Dionysus who has freed him.

A herdsman now approaches coming from Mount Cithaeron. He has seen three bands of women asleep in the open air, he says, and one of them was led by the king's mother Agave. As he looked she had waked up and aroused her band, who fastened on their fawn skins and girded themselves with serpents, one holding a kid in her arms and another a wolf cub which she suckled. One struck the rock with her thyrsus and a spring of water gushed forth, another struck with her wand and wine streamed out, and there was milk ready at hand for those who wanted it. The herdsman and his companions then decided to capture Agave and bring her home, hoping to win the favor of the king; but she and her frenzied followers attacked them. The herdsmen fled, but their cattle were torn to pieces. Then the women rushed down into the plain to two villages, picked up the children and put them on their shoulders and upset things generally. When the men of the villages attacked them they quickly put them to flight without suffering any wounds themselves. They have now withdrawn again to the mountains. The herdsman is overawed by the manifestations of divine power and urges Pentheus to accept the new god. But the king orders out his soldiers to put a stop to the revels. The disguised

Dionysus warns him and tells him that they will all be put to flight by the women. He asks the king if he wishes to see the Bacchanals in their frenzied condition, and, when he says that he does, promises to guide him. He causes Pentheus partly to lose his reason, and while he is in that condition leads him into the palace and persuades him to dress himself in female attire. The god wishes to make him appear ridiculous in the eyes of his people, as well as to show his own power. When Pentheus comes from the palace garbed as a woman he seems to see double and his guide looks to him like a bull. Dionysus arranges his dress for him. There is an element of absurdity here, as has already been pointed out, perhaps intended to relieve the tension; but the spectators, in view of the impending tragedy, can hardly have been in a mood to laugh. The situation is, in fact, very tragic. Dionysus hints at what is coming, and although his meaning is clear enough to the audience, Pentheus does not understand him. The chorus is convinced that Pentheus deserves to be punished for his failure to receive the god. Some hours are now supposed to elapse. The king's personal attendant then enters with the dreadful tidings that the king is dead, and his news is received with joy by the chorus. He explains that guided by the stranger (the disguised Dionysus) they had gone to Cithaeron. Pentheus, however, could not see the Bacchants from the place where they were and the stranger obligingly bent down a fir tree, placed him in the top and let it back again. Then a voice called to the women to punish the man who had made light of the god and his revels. The frenzied women leaped to their feet and beheld Pentheus in the top of the tree, and when they could not dislodge him by throwing sticks and stones at him they pulled the tree up by the roots. Pentheus begged his mother to spare him, but Agave in her Bacchic frenzy did not know him, and the whole maddened company tore him to pieces. His mother, carrying his head with her, thinking it to be that of a mountain lion, is now wandering about the mountains. The chorus then sing and dance in honor of the

victory of Dionysus. Agave enters smeared with blood and holding the head of Pentheus in her hands. She is still in a Bacchic frenzy, and shows the chorus the head as a trophy of the hunt. She calls upon all the citizens to look at it. Cadmus comes in with a number of attendants who bear the remains of the king. Agave runs to him and shows him the head which she still holds. He talks to her and persuades her to look at it, and as the frenzy passes and she regains her reason she recognizes the face of her son. Cadmus bewails the death of his grandson, Pentheus. A similar lament of considerable length by Agave evidently followed but has become lost. Dionysus then entered and he is speaking at the point where the text of the manuscript begins again. He is giving directions for the future. The aged Cadmus and his wife Harmonia are to leave the country and become rulers of a barbarian tribe, and at a later time they are to be transformed into serpents. Agave and her sisters are to be exiled to another land. The play ends as Agave goes into exile after bidding farewell to her father and praying that she may forget Mount Cithaeron and its horrors.

The *Bacchae* is a remarkable play and one that was greatly admired in antiquity. The subject was treated by Aeschylus in his *Pentheus*,[1] but the single line of that play which has come down to modern times gives no clue as to how the older dramatist handled the theme. Attius made a Latin translation of the *Bacchae*, and Pacuvius may have imitated it in his *Pentheus*. Many quotations or imitations of parts of it have also been pointed out by various scholars. For example Books XLIV, XLV and XLVI of the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus are really little more than a free paraphrase of the story of the *Bacchae* in dactylic hexameter verse. Latin writers were especially impressed with it, and its influence may be traced in Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Propertius, Ovid and others. So, too, the unknown author of the mediaeval play Χριστὸς Πάσχων, better known by its Latin name of *Christus Patiens*, drew largely from the *Bacchae*, the *Medea*, the *Hip-*

[1] Hypoth. 21, ἡ μυθοποιία κεῖται παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Πενθεῖ.

polytus and the *Rhesus* and, to a less extent, from other plays in composing his drama.[1]

The lost lament of Agave near the end of the Bacchae was known to the late rhetorician Apsines, to Nonnus when he wrote his *Dionysiaca*, and to the author of the *Christus Patiens*. Apsines refers to the passage as an example of pity excited by accusing one's self.[2] He also tells how Agave took each of her son's limbs in her hands and bewailed them. In Nonnus[3] Agave calls upon Dionysus to make her mad again so that she may be unconscious of her terrible deed. She compares her fate with that of her sisters and their sons, and begs Pentheus to forgive her and to realize that Dionysus, not she, is to blame. She calls attention to her bloody hands and gown and asks Dionysus to give her a cup that she may pour him a libation of the blood of Pentheus. She talks of his burial and the inscribed stone which she will erect over his grave. No doubt all this was to be found in the lost passage of the *Bacchae*. Several attempts have been made to recover some of the lost lines from the *Christus Patiens*, for example by Kirchhoff, Hartung, Bruhn and others. Kirchhoff even reconstructed thirty-four lines.[4] A few quotations from the *Bacchae* by ancient authors also seem to have come from the lost passage.

It has been argued that the *Bacchae* was written in Macedonia, or for presentation in Macedonia; but this is something which it is impossible either to prove or to disprove. However, in the lack of satisfactory evidence to the contrary, it seems to me likely

[1] Brambs in his edition of the *Christus Patiens* (Teubner text) notes 190 passages based more or less closely on lines in the *Bacchae*.

[2] See Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* IX, p. 587, *κίνησον ἔλεον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν ἑαυτῶν, αὐτοὶ κατηγοροῦντες αὑτῶν· τοῦτό ἐστι μὲν εὑρεῖν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς ποιηταῖς ἀμέλει παρὰ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ τοῦ Πενθέως ἡ μήτηρ Ἀγαίη ἀπαλλαγεῖσα τῆς μανίας καὶ γνωρίσασα τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἑαυτῆς διεσπασμένον, κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἑαυτῆς ἔλεον δὲ κινεῖ.* See also *ibid.* p. 590 *τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεκίνηκεν Εὐριπίδης οἶκτον ἐπὶ τῷ Πενθεῖ κινῆσαι βουλόμενος. ἕκαστον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν μελῶν ἡ μήτηρ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κρατοῦσα καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν οἰκτίζεται.*

[3] *Dionysiaca*, XLVI, 283 ff.

[4] See *Philologus*, VIII, pp. 91 ff.; also Murray, Oxford text of *Bacchae*, end.

that the poet intended to present his play in Athens as usual. Boeckh's conjecture that we really have two editions of the *Bacchae* combined in one; that it was first brought out at Pella in Macedonia, and that the younger Euripides afterwards made additions to it when it was put on the stage, has nothing in its support. In fact it is extremely improbable.

It has also been suggested that the *Bacchae* was a sort of recantation on the part of the poet for the subjects presented in some of his plays; that towards the end of his life he went back to an older type of drama and wrote a tragedy to show how great a power the gods have over the fortunes of men. I do not think that Euripides had any such object in mind. He chose his subject because of its tragic character and the possibilities which it gave him for dramatic treatment. He had no moral to point. The death of Pentheus was tragic in the highest degree, and the scene where Agave comes in with his head is one of the most dramatic, as well as one of the most terrible on the Greek stage. It was dramatic art which led Euripides to the choice of his subject, not recantation or religious enthusiasm.

What first suggested the plot of the *Bacchae* to the author there is no means of finding out, but it is worth noting that in the later temple of Dionysus near the theatre at Athens there was a painting depicting the punishment of Pentheus. That temple seems to have been erected about the year 420 B.C., or a little later, and the painting was probably made shortly afterwards, that is to say a few years before the *Bacchae* was written. This painting may have suggested to Euripides the subject of this tragedy. The famous paintings in the public buildings of Athens seem more than once to have been a source of inspiration to the tragic poets.

Of the characters in the play Pentheus stands forth as a typical example of the feebleness of mankind before the overwhelming might of a higher power. He comes before us as a man of strong will who does not propose to be carried away by religious enthusiasm, or to recognize a person as divine even if numerous

miracles do transpire to attest his divinity. The wild orgies of the women are in his opinion due to sheer madness and he is determined to put them down. In the scene in which he decides to spy upon the Bacchants, he himself is overcome by madness. His common sense deserts him under the power of Dionysus. This was necessary for the development of the plot, like the madness of Heracles in the *Heracles Furens*. A sane Pentheus would never have tried to disguise himself as a woman. But ridiculous as he appears we are more inclined to pity him and to weep than to laugh. In fact, the element of pathos is very prominent both here and later in the play, and this must have been still more pronounced when the *Bacchae* was actually being performed in the theatre. The punishment of Pentheus is justified by his opposition to the divine power, but we pity him just the same.

Another character even more striking is Agave. Though we hear of her repeatedly she does not appear before the spectators until line 1168; and yet the very horror of the part which she plays dominates the latter part of the drama, and it is of Agave that we think with a shudder when we lay down the book, and it was of Agave that the ancient Athenian was thinking when the performance came to an end. Nothing on the tragic stage could be more terrible than the appearance of this woman, temporarily insane, holding in her hands the head of her slaughtered son. We are overwhelmed with horror, and at the same time filled with pity.

In some respects Dionysus is the principal character in the *Bacchae*. He enters at the very beginning and he is on the stage most of the time to the end, though for the most part disguised as one of his own followers. He shows himself to be a god by his supernatural powers, but he is cruel in demonstrating his divinity. And yet Dionysus in the *Bacchae* is not a tragic character. Dramatically he is not so important as either Pentheus or Agave.

Of the minor characters there is little to be said. The two old

men, Cadmus and Tiresias, fulfill their rôles acceptably. There is, perhaps, a bit of comedy at line 364 where they try to help each other along, but this is only for a moment, and it is the sort of humorous touch which we have noticed elsewhere in Euripides. The two messengers are well represented and the reports which they deliver are vivid narratives as in other plays of our author.

From the very nature of the plot the chorus of the *Bacchae* had to have a close connection with the action of the play. Hence we find its part more like that of the chorus in the older tragedies than in that of his later plays. This is due to the subject, not to a deliberate purpose on the part of the poet to return to older models.

The verse of the *Bacchae* is smooth as usual, though there are many resolutions. The diction is interesting, and words not used elsewhere in Greek occur several times. The poetic skill of the author and his ability to paint a picture in a few words could not be better illustrated than in his description of the way in which Dionysus gradually bends down the tree for Pentheus to mount (line 1065).

κατῆγεν, ἦγεν, ἦγεν ἐς μέλαν πέδον.

How effective this is may be seen if we compare with it the imitation of the line by Nonnus (*Dionysiaca*, XLVI, 153), εἰς πέδον, εἰς πέδον εἶλκε. The contrast is striking.

In the *Bacchae*, too, we twice have a choral refrain, which is very unusual in Euripides. Lines 877–881 are repeated as lines 897–901; and lines 991–996 are identical with lines 1011–1016. This gives an Aeschylean touch to the chorus, though a short refrain is also found in the *Electra*.[1]

The play has been much read in modern times, but does not seem to have been imitated by any modern dramatist.

[1] Lines 112–114 are repeated as 127–129.

IV

The Cyclops

The *Cyclops* of Euripides stands apart as the only complete example of a satyr drama which has come down to modern times. Until quite recently the only other remains of this type of literature consisted of scattered quotations, most of them short, found in various Greek writers. In 1907, however, parts of a papyrus roll which had once contained the *Ichneutae*, or *Trackers*, of Sophocles were found at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. There were in all about four hundred lines, and of these about two thirds are complete or nearly so; that is, enough is preserved to give us a good idea of the way in which Sophocles handled this type of play. We thus have something with which to compare the *Cyclops*, and to test the relative merits of the two great dramatists in this kind of composition.

The satyr drama is a direct descendant of that early and simple form of dramatic performance in which a chorus of satyrs danced and sang about an altar.[1] The chorus of satyrs was preserved and was, in fact, always the distinguishing feature of the satyr play; but its songs, instead of forming the most important part of the performance, as originally, were very much abbreviated. It is not surprising, however, that this satyric chorus persisted, for the Athenians never forgot that the drama was a celebration in honor of the god Dionysus, and it was at his festivals of the Great Dionysia and the Lenaea alone that they exhibited plays in the theatre. It was natural, therefore, that the satyrs, the traditional companions of Dionysus, should have a place somewhere on the programme, and what more suitable place for them could there be than in the fourth play of the tetralogy? After three tragedies in which its emotions had been deeply stirred the audience would be glad of the relief afforded by the antics of the satyrs, and would welcome the simple type of performance in which they appeared.

[1] Such as was attributed to Arion, see Suidas, s. v. Ἀρίων.

The satyr drama, like tragedy and comedy, evidently underwent a development, though we have no means of tracing the steps. It is in character little better than a farce with much horse-play; but in its structure it is more closely allied to tragedy than to comedy.[1] Thus, in the *Cyclops*, we have a prologue and four episodes separated by lyric verse, but there are no regular stasima, or formal choral songs, as in tragedy. The episodes are also shorter and the lyric portions still more abridged. The lyric metres are simple, implying that the dances were simple and not the set choral dances of tragedy. This seems to have been true also of the *Ichneutae*, though the choral portions of that play are unfortunately very badly mutilated. It is what would be expected from the nature of the composition. At the same time it is likely that the satyrs with their uncouth gestures were dancing about at every opportunity. Old Silenus, who speaks of them as his children, is the leader of the band, but is not the coryphaeus in the play; and the same seems to have been the case in the *Ichneutae*. In the dialogue the metre is treated with more freedom than in tragedy,[2] but not so freely as in comedy. The satyrs, to be sure, give an air of buffoonery to the scene, but in spite of this and of the occasional coarseness of language the satyr drama as we see it in the *Cyclops* and in the *Ichneutae* is not closely allied with comedy, either old or new.

The scene of the *Cyclops* is laid in Sicily in front of the cave of the one-eyed monster, Polyphemus. In the background is a rocky slope, and there is a high jutting rock above the entrance to the cave. The higher slopes of the mountain appear at the sides. Old Silenus, rake in hand, busily engaged in cleaning the floor of the cave, appears at the entrance and speaks the prologue. He is costumed in the traditional manner of the satyrs, with

[1] This would seem to be the ancient view if we may judge from Plato (*Republic*, p. 395 A), who declares that the same poet cannot write both tragedy and comedy successfully.

[2] For example, in the *Cyclops* there are eighteen cases of an anapaest elsewhere than in the first place in the line. See Haigh, *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 391, note 3.

pointed ears and horse's tail. He laments the troubles he has had for Dionysus, and explains that when he had heard that Etruscan pirates, instigated by Hera, had carried him off, he had at once embarked upon a ship with his satyrs to search for him. But an east wind had driven them to the land of the Cyclopes, one of whom, Polyphemus, had made them his slaves. It is his task to keep the cave clean, while his childrn, the satyrs, tend the monster's flocks upon the mountain.

He hears the sound of the satyrs' song and dance, the *sicinnis*, and a moment later the whole band of satyrs, that is the chorus, come trouping in with their uncouth dance, driving the flocks of sheep. Silenus urges them to get the sheep into the cave, for he sees a man approaching. Odysseus, followed by his crew, now enters seeking food and water. He is astonished to meet the satyrs. Silenus greets him and asks his name, which Odysseus readily tells him. A long conversation ensues in which Silenus learns that Odysseus has wine with him, and, after he has had a taste, he readily agrees to barter all the flocks, cheese and milk belonging to the Cyclops for it. Silenus goes into the cave with some of the crew and they quickly bring out the sheep and the cheeses. At that moment Polyphemus is seen approaching. Silenus advises Odysseus to hide with his crew in the cave, but he refuses to do so. He does, however, step behind a rock, and his sailors hide themselves as the monster enters. The latter at once takes the satyrs to task for their idleness and questions them about their work. Then he suddenly discovers the lambs fast tied and the baskets of cheese ready to be carried away, and he wants to know what it means. Silenus, eager to save his own skin, pretends that robbers are responsible, and he points out Odysseus and his crew and declares that they have beaten him and even threatened to tie up and carry off Polyphemus himself as a slave. This is too much for the irascible monster, and he orders knives to be sharpened and a fire to be built as he means to feast on the unhappy strangers. Odysseus thinks it high time to defend himself, and he comes forward and

explains that Silenus sold him the sheep and the cheeses, but the cowardly Silenus swears that he did not, though the satyrs support Odysseus. The hero makes a plea to the monster to spare them, but he declares that he shall be boiled and eaten and he drives the whole crew before him into the cave. The chorus sing a short song congratulating the Cyclops on his coming feast.

After a time Odysseus enters from the cave horrified at the cannibal meal of the Cyclops. He tells the satyrs how he has got Polyphemus drunk and has slipped out while the monster is singing his uncouth songs. Furthermore he tells them of his plan to thrust a pointed stake into his eye and so blind him. The satyrs promise their help with the stake. They divide into two groups and sing and dance. The tipsy Cyclops now comes out of the cave. He proposes to share his good cheer with the other Cyclopes living on the mountain, but Odysseus persuades him to keep the wine for himself. Silenus proposes to act as cup-bearer and resorts to various devices to get a taste of the wine, but the Cyclops thinks it safer that Odysseus should have this in charge. The wine now begins to take effect. Polyphemus gets sleepy, seizes old Silenus, whom he calls a Ganymede, and retires into the cave. After waiting for him to get sound asleep Odysseus marshals the satyrs to assist him with the stake, but they are too cowardly and draw back so that Odysseus has to enter the cave alone and trust to the help of his crew. The chorus from without shout words of encouragement. A moment later the Cyclops is heard bellowing with pain. Odysseus had previously told him that his name was "Noman," and when the chorus ask him if he fell into the fire he replies, as in the *Odyssey*, that "Noman" has blinded him. He declares that he will stand at the entrance to the cave and catch him when he tries to get out. The satyrs pretend to help him. They tell him that Odysseus is on his right and he turns quickly in that direction only to bump his head on the rocks. Then he turns in the other direction and bumps his head again. Odysseus, who has in the mean time escaped from the cave with his crew,

now tells the monster his true name. Polyphemus remembers the old prophesy of his misfortune, but says that he will go up above the cave by an inner passage and hurl pieces of rock at them and annihilate them all. He re-enters the cave while Odysseus and his crew, followed by the satyrs, hurry off for the shore to launch their ship for home.

The *Cyclops* is full of action as is natural, but it is very short, consisting of only 709 lines. Maurice Croiset[1] suggests that satyr dramas must always have been short because pure fantasy is hard to sustain for any length of time. In this he is very likely right, though the fragmentary condition of the *Ichneutae* does not permit us to use it as evidence, and the *Alcestis* which is known to have taken the place of a satyr play has about the usual length for tragedy.

The source from which Euripides drew for the plot of the *Cyclops* is not far to seek. It is the familiar story in the Ninth Book of the *Odyssey*, but with some modifications. In Homer Polyphemus kills six men in all, two at a time, and devours them raw, "entrails, flesh and marrow bones;"[2] in Euripides he devours two, one stewed and the other roasted. The famous episode of the ram in Homer is entirely omitted, and there is no great stone placed in the doorway of the cave to block the escape of the prisoners. There are also other minor differences. We miss the simplicity and directness which contribute so much to the charm of the Homeric narrative, but it is the purpose of Euripides to make the Cyclops grotesque rather than terrible, and in this he is most successful. The scene in which the blinded Polyphemus, standing at the entrance to his cave and darting now to the right and now to the left, under the guidance of the satyrs, in his efforts to catch Odysseus and repeatedly bumping his head on the rocks, could be nothing else than ridiculous. The costuming of the monster, too, must have added much to the effectiveness of his presentation.

[1] *Op. cit.* III, p. 415.

[2] Line 293 ἔγκατά τε σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα μυελόεντα.

According to Diogenes Laertius[1] Aeschylus excelled in the satyr drama, and next to him came a certain Achaeus. Suidas[2] tells us that Pratinas invented plays of this type, and that he wrote eighteen of them. Satyr dramas, however, apparently ceased to be popular at a rather early date, although they are known to have been acted even in late Greek times. An extant inscription[3] records the victory of a certain Aminias of Thebes as the author of satyr dramas, at the Charitesia of Orchomenos, about 200 B.C. How much later they persisted is not known. Neither do we know how Euripides was ranked in antiquity as the author of satyr plays. If we may judge from a comparison of the *Cyclops* and the fragmentary *Ichneutae* he was rather more successful than Sophocles in this form of composition.

Scenes from satyr dramas were sometimes painted on Greek vases, and there are some reminiscences of them on Etruscan mirrors, but a discussion of these belongs rather to the field of archaeology.

V

The Electra

In the *Electra* Euripides takes up a familiar theme already handled with great skill by his two famous colleagues Aeschylus and Sophocles. At least that is presumed to have been the case, for the dates of the *Electras* of Sophocles and Euripides are not definitely known. The play of Sophocles has long been recognized as a masterpiece; and the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus, the second play in the great trilogy of the *Orestea*, has ranked with it as one of the great tragedies of the Greek stage. In writing on the same subject Euripides showed boldness, as well as confidence in his own abilities, for the new play was sure to be

[1] II, 133.

[2] S. v. Πρατίνας.

[3] *C. I. G.* 1584, line 24. It reads οἵδε ἐνίκων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Χαριτησίων· . . . . . ποητὴς σατύρων Ἀμινίας Δημοκλέους Θηβαῖος.

compared with the old. In fact since antiquity this very natural comparison has been made to the disadvantage of Euripides. But the *Electra* of Euripides is by no means a weak play. Quite the contrary. Furthermore the poet has not followed the earlier plays as models, but has introduced innovations of his own making a tragedy which is typically Euripidean.

The stage setting of the play is simple. In the background we have an Argive landscape with the hut of Electra to one side. In the distance the walls of Mycenae may be seen. The plot is this. The prologue is spoken by a peasant who has been married to Electra. He explains that after the death of her father Electra remained in the palace and was sought in marriage by men of noble rank; but Aegisthus would not consent to her wedding fearing that she might give birth to a son who would take vengeance upon him for the death of Agamemnon. At length he had married her to a peasant knowing that the children of such a union would have no claim to the throne. At the beginning of the play she is living in a hut outside the walls with her husband, who fully realizing that she is the daughter of a great king has respected and honored her.

After the prologue Electra, with her hair shorn and wearing poor clothing, leaves the hut carrying a water-jar upon her head; for, although her husband urges her not to do so, she wishes to carry the heavy jar so that the Argives may see to what she has been reduced. Orestes and his friend Pylades, who have come to Mycenae in disguise, see her approaching and mistake her for a peasant woman. They conceal themselves so as not to frighten her away hoping to learn from her something about the situation of affairs in the city. A band of her former girl friends (the chorus) now join Electra and tell her of the approaching festival of Hera. They lament her unhappy fortune. This choral ode is not especially important for the development of the plot, though it is a fine ode, but it is interesting for an anecdote preserved by Plutarch.[1] He says that when Lysander was

[1] *Lysander*, XV, 4.

debating the question of the destruction of Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian War, at a meeting of the leaders a Phocian musician sang the passage beginning Ἀγαμέμνωνος ὦ κόρα (lines 169 ff.) and so affected his hearers that they decided that it would be wrong to destroy the city.

Orestes and Pylades now step out from their hiding-place and the girls flee. Orestes stops Electra, tells her that he has come from her brother and goes with her as far as her hut, learning from her something of the situation in the city. The peasant returns from his field and, when he is told that the strangers have brought a message from Orestes, courteously invites them into his house. Electra, knowing their poverty, chides him for so doing and then sends him off for an old serving-man who had been a faithful slave of her father's and who, she knows, will help her in this emergency. The old man soon arrives with such food as he could procure, cheese, wine and a lamb, but in addition he brings the surprising information that in passing the tomb of Agamemnon he had found a black sheep sacrificed there and locks of hair placed on the grave. He thinks that Orestes must have returned secretly and done this and he asks Electra to compare this hair with her own to see if it can be that of her brother, then to test her footstep with one left on the ground near the tomb, and finally he asks her if she could identify a garment of her own weaving which the boy Orestes had worn when he had been sent away. Electra laughs at his efforts to identify the unknown visitor to the tomb. She finds them ridiculous. Euripides is here deliberately making fun of the means of identification employed by Aeschylus in the *Choephoroe.* Something of the same sort occurs in the *Suppliants* (lines 846 ff.) where he criticizes a passage in the *Seven against Thebes.* Orestes enters and is recognized by the old servant who points to a scar on his eyebrow by way of proof. There is a brief greeting between the brother and sister and then the two confer with the aged man as to the best course to pursue. He declares that Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra must be slain. He tells

Orestes that he has seen Aegisthus in the fields accompanied only by a few slaves about to make a sacrifice to the Nymphs, and he offers to guide him to the spot. His offer is accepted, and the old man is afterwards to go to Clytaemnestra and tell her that Electra had given birth to a son ten days before. Orestes and the slave depart and, after a choral ode, a distant cry is heard. The servant of Orestes enters and tells of the slaughter of Aegisthus and how Orestes had made himself known to the slaves and been accepted by them. Orestes now returns and is greeted by Electra. His attendants bring in the body of Aegisthus which is concealed, while preparations are made to receive Clytaemnestra. Orestes rebels at the thought of killing his mother but is urged to the deed by his sister. Clytaemnestra soon arrives in her carriage accompanied by a retinue of captive Trojan women and is received by Electra. Her guilty conscience troubles her and she tries to justify her action in killing her husband. Electra refutes her specious arguments. At length she enters the house to see the supposed child and is slain. Orestes comes out holding the bloody weapon, and the body of the dead queen is brought into view by means of the eccyclema. The story of her death is briefly told in a lyric dialogue in which Orestes, Electra and the chorus take part. Then the Dioscuri, brothers of Clytaemnestra and Helen, appear above the house and give directions for the future. Orestes is to go first to Athens to stand trial at the Areopagus and then to settle in Arcadia. Pylades is to marry Electra and take her to Phocis. The citizens of Argos are directed to bury Aegisthus, and Menelaus and Helen to perform the same service for Clytaemnestra. All assent to these commands and the Dioscuri depart through the air.

The date of the *Electra* is not definitely known, but it is generally agreed that it was brought out in the year 413 B.C. There seems to be an allusion to the Sicilian Expedition and the treason of Alcibiades in lines 1347 ff., but there is no hint of the great disaster. Furthermore, in lines 1278–1281 there seems to be a

reference to the *Helen* as if the poet had the story in mind, for that play did not come out until 412. The Hypothesis has not come down to us in the manuscripts, but a fragment of it on papyrus dating from the third century A.D. was found at Oxyrhynchus by Grenfell and Hunt and published by them.[1] Unfortunately the date is not included in the half dozen lines preserved.

Of the characters in the play Electra is by far the most important. More than a third of all the lines belong to her part and about half that number to Orestes. This does not, however, correctly represent the relative importance of the two characters, for in spite of the part which Orestes has in the action and the development of the plot we never lose sight of Electra. Euripides represents her as a young woman of a gentle nature who has been deeply wronged by her mother. Her attitude at the beginning of the play is one of grief and sorrow, but she is bearing her heavy misfortunes with resignation and fortitude. She shows a certain amount of resentment against her mother and Aegisthus, as is natural, but no vindictiveness even when she urges the wavering Orestes to persevere in his purpose of avenging his father by slaying his mother. After the dreadful deed is done she feels remorse and takes the blame upon herself.

All this is in marked contrast with the character as portrayed by Sophocles. With him Electra is a high spirited and highly excitable young woman who is quite carried away by her emotions. She is moved to the very depths of her soul by the indignities put upon her and the crimes committed by her mother, and is bitter in her resentment. She falls into the deepest distress at the sight of the funeral urn which, she is told, contains the ashes of her brother Orestes; and, on the other hand, can hardly restrain the exuberance of her joy when she learns that Orestes is not dead but standing before her. So, too, later in the play when the shrieks of Clytaemnestra are heard from within

[1] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* III, No. 420.

the palace she shouts to Orestes, "Strike a second blow if you have the strength." The Electra of Euripides has none of this fierceness. Neither has the Electra of Aeschylus, for in the *Choephoroe* she is represented as a noble young girl devoted to the memory of her father and brother. She has been badly treated by a wicked mother, but she takes no direct part in her murder. Her character as set forth by Euripides is thus not very unlike that portrayed by Aeschylus, though it is more fully developed.

The other characters in the play call for little comment. Orestes is a manly young prince who has returned home to punish the murderers of his father and to recover his throne. He finds it very hard to bring himself to slay his mother, monster of wickedness though she is, and after the deed is done he is filled with remorse. There is no report of his death early in the action of the play as there is in the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles.

Euripides has introduced several innovations into the traditional story. The marriage of Electra to the countryman and her residence outside the walls is new. The recognition of Orestes through the scar by the aged slave who had cared for him when he was a boy is skilfully managed, and artistically superior to the recognition scenes in the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles, where Orestes has to establish his own identity. The slaying of Aegisthus in the country, the motive of the fictitious baby by which Clytaemnestra is enticed to the hut and her death there, and finally the appearance of the Dioscuri at the end of the play are all due to the imagination of Euripides.

The *Electra* of Euripides has an excellent plot and would act well. The opening scene with its simple setting in the country, early in the morning, has the true Euripidean charm. There is, indeed, much to charm us in the play. Even the death of Clytaemnestra is lacking in that horror which we find in Sophocles. In fact we have an old familiar story toned down and beautified by the art of a great poet. The play deserves a much higher reputation than has generally been accorded it. It is a

more pleasing play than the *Electra* of Sophocles or the *Choephoroe*, and more modern, and, from the standpoint of the spectator, much more interesting than either of them.

The story of Electra was a favorite subject for tragedy with later writers. Seven different Latin plays of that title are known,[1] and the part of Orestes is said to have been a favorite with Nero. Furthermore, the story has been repeatedly dramatized in modern times, but there is no reason to believe that the *Electra* of Euripides served as the model for any of these productions.

The *Electra* was the last of the Greek tragedies to be given to modern readers. It was omitted from the *editio princeps* of Euripides of 1503 and was first published by Victorius in 1545.

VI

The Hecuba

A play much read during the Middle Ages, though attracting little attention to-day, is the *Hecuba*. It cannot be looked upon as a great play, though it is distinctly tragic, and like most of the tragedies of Euripides would undoubtedly be much more effective on the stage than it appears to the reader.

The plot falls into two parts, the first of which has to do with the sacrifice of Polyxena and the second with the news of the death of Polydorus and the punishment of his murderer. The stage setting is simple. The scene is laid in the Greek camp. In the foreground, to one side, is the hut, or tent, of Agamemnon in which Hecuba is living, and further away are the other huts where the Trojan women who form the chorus have their quarters. The sea is visible in the distance. The action takes place before the hut of Agamemnon. The plot is this. After the capture of Troy the Greek fleet had crossed over to the Thracian Chersonese, the modern Gallipoli, on the first stage of their homeward journey. Here the ghost of Achilles had appeared

[1] By Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius, Attius, Quintus Cicero and a certain Attilius.

and detained the fleet by demanding that Polyxena, the daughter of Priam be sacrificed at his tomb. This we learn from the prologue which is spoken by the ghost of Polydorus. The Greek chiefs have agreed to the slaughter and the chorus learning of the fate in store for Polyxena inform their ancient queen Hecuba, now a slave like themselves. The distress of the aged woman, helpless to aid her daughter, or even to die herself, is revealed in a series of lyric anapaests. She tells her daughter of her dreadful fate, but the latter sees only relief in death, and after a tender farewell to her mother bravely, almost happily, follows Odysseus to her doom. The actual sacrifice is supposed to take place behind the scenes and is reported to the heart-broken mother by the herald Talthybius. In the mean time a servant who has gone to the shore finds the body of Polydorus, the youngest son of Priam, floating in the waves. The boy had been sent by his parents before the fall of Troy to Polymestor, king of Thrace, for protection, but the treacherous king had murdered him for the gold which he had brought with him. The distress of Hecuba at this new sorrow is pitiable, but the desire for revenge comes upon her and, pretending that she believes her son still safe in his care and that she wishes to inform him of the location of buried treasure, Hecuba entices Polymestor and his young sons into one of the huts and there, with the help of her attendants, kills the children and blinds the father. The blinded king rushes out trying to catch the women. The bodies of the children are brought in by means of the eccyclema. Agamemnon comes in haste to punish Hecuba, but is convinced that Polymestor deserved his fate.

The *Hecuba* is not an interesting play, but it is easy to see that on the stage it would move deeply the feelings of the audience. In the misfortunes of Hecuba the poet has represented the extreme of mental anguish. There is no actual representation of physical suffering, though the once proud queen is now merely a slave, but there is distress of mind carried almost to the limit of human endurance. She has lost her husband and one of her

children after another, her city has been sacked and burned and she herself reduced to servitude. This would seem to be enough of misery. But all this has happened before the action of the play begins. Then comes the cold-blooded sacrifice of her daughter Polyxena at the tomb of her country's bitterest enemy; and even while this tragedy is being enacted the discovery is made that her youngest son has been murdered by a trusted ally. The human mind can bear no more, and the plan for revenge comes as a relief as much to the feelings of the audience as to those of the heroine in the play.

What was the motive of Euripides in writing the *Hecuba*? Did he believe that an Athenian audience would be pleased to see the queen of the Trojans cruelly distressed? I do not think so. His purpose, as I understand it, is to arouse pity for her sufferings. We must remember that one of the functions of tragedy according to Aristotle is to excite pity, and the *Hecuba* certainly fulfils that function. The strength of the play, however, lies in the action, and it is only by means of the action that it can have the unity which it appears to lack when read. In this respect it resembles the *Troades*.

Most admirers of Euripides, I imagine, get little pleasure from reading the *Hecuba*. They are naturally repelled by the repeated sufferings of the queen; but the play seems to make an especial appeal to French critics. Thus Croiset (III, p. 304) calls it "une des plus belles pièces d'Euripide;" and Patin finds in it many things to commend. It is undoubtedly the pathos in the play which impresses these men, and it was probably that which attracted readers in the Middle Ages, for the *Hecuba* was then one of the three most read plays of Euripides, the other two being the *Orestes* and the *Phoenissae*. It regularly comes first in the manuscripts in which it is found and it has accumulated a large body of scholia.

The finest passages in the play are undoubtedly the scene between Hecuba and Polyxena (lines 154–215), and the one which follows between the two in the presence of Agamemnon (lines

342–437). They are lofty and touching and handled with great delicacy by the poet. The only other scene which deserves special mention is that in which we have the blinding of Polymestor (lines 1035–1106). This, too, is managed with great dramatic skill. In the first and the last of these scenes the poet uses lyric metres to advantage. It is interesting to note that there is no messenger in the *Hecuba*. This is unusual in the tragedies of Euripides as has already been pointed out. It is true that Talthybius gives the details of the death of Polyxena and so in a way takes the place of a messenger, but only as far as that event is concerned. A supernatural element is introduced in the ghost of Polydorus and in the story of the appearance of the ghost of Achilles.

The part of Hecuba dominates the play. No other character can compare with her. Next in interest is Polyxena, who is on the stage for a short time only, but the noble bearing of this pure young girl makes a deep impression. Polymestor is the only other character which calls for special comment. He is the type of man who is all things to all men. He does not hesitate to do a great deed of villainy when he thinks he will not be found out and that he can enrich himself from his victim, and he loudly bewails the punishment which he so richly deserves.

In its structure the *Hecuba* is clearly open to criticism. It has no well-defined plot in the modern sense, but is what Aristotle would designate as an episodic play. Such unity as it has comes from the chief character, Hecuba, whom we are never allowed to forget; but as has been pointed out the lack of cohesion between the parts would be overlooked in the actual performance of the play. Judging by the effect that it is capable of producing on the audience one might be tempted to rank the *Hecuba* high, but in reality it is not a great drama.

The date of the play is unknown. Certain passages are apparently parodied in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes (lines 172–3 by *Clouds* 1165–6; 161 by 718 ff.). As the first edition of that play appeared in 423 B.C. it has been argued that the *Hecuba*

came a year or two earlier. This may or may not be correct, but the date may be accepted as approximate.

The *Hecuba* was translated into Latin by the Roman poet Ennius of whose version eleven fragments are preserved; and it is possible that it was translated by Attius.[1] These translations may be regarded as evidence of its fame in antiquity. The editions of the play by Porson and by Hermann are famous for their metrical discussions.

VII

The Helen

The *Helen*, like the *Ion* and the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, is a play written to interest the spectator. It can hardly be called a tragedy, for there is nothing tragic about it. Neither is it in any sense a great play. At the same time it holds our attention when we read it today, and on the stage it must have made a very favorable impression upon the spectator. The romantic story of Helen's stay in Egypt and her rescue by her husband could not have failed to arouse a sympathetic interest.

The date of the *Helen* is well established as 412 B.C. Aristophanes in the *Thesmophoriazousae*, which was brought out in 411, speaks of it as the "new Helen,"[2] and three passages in the scholia make us certain of the date.[3] It has, however, been questioned by Zielinski,[4] who thought that he had found a

[1] See Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, p. 198.

[2] Line 850, *τὴν καινὴν Ἑλένην*.

[3] They are scholia to *Thesmophoriazousae* lines 1011 and 1060 and to *Frogs* line 53. The first of these states that the *Helen* and the *Andromeda* were brought out together (*συν<δε>δίδακται γὰρ τῇ Ἑλένῃ*); and the second that the *Andromeda* was brought out the year before the *Thesmophoriazousae* (*ἐπεὶ πέρυσιν ἐδιδάχθη <ἡ>Ἀνδρομέδα*), and this play is known to have appeared in 411 (see scholia to lines 190 and 841). The scholium on *Frogs* 53 states that the *Andromeda* was produced in the eighth year before the *Frogs* (*ἡ Ἀνδρομέδα ὀγδόῳ ἔτει προῆκται*), and that play is known to have been brought out in the spring of 405 (*ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Καλλίου*). The date 412 B.C. is thus fixed by two independent pieces of evidence.

[4] *Die Gliederung der Altattischen Komödie*, pp. 97 f.

parody of lines 835 ff. in the *Knights* of Aristophanes (lines 80 ff.) and the *Knights* was brought out in 423 B.C.; but this conjecture has convinced nobody and may be definitely rejected.

The scene is laid in Egypt on the banks of the Nile. Conspicuous in the foreground and to one side is the tomb of the late king, Proteus. In the background, and forming the back scene, is the strongly fortified royal palace. No doubt palm trees were represented scattered about to give an Egyptian atmosphere to the landscape. The time is seven years after the fall of Troy. Helen, who has sought sanctuary at the tomb of Proteus, comes forward and speaks the prologue. She tells who she is and how, when Paris came to Sparta to carry her off, Hera, angry because she had not been awarded the prize for beauty, created a phantom Helen out of air and that it was this phantom which had accompanied Paris to Troy. In the meantime Hermes, by the will of Zeus, had concealed the real Helen in a cloud and conveyed her to Egypt, where he had placed her in the palace of the king. Here she had remained during the Trojan war safely guarded. Before he left her Hermes had told her that Menelaus would find out the truth about her and that they would again live together in Sparta. But now Proteus has died and his son Theoclymenus is determined to marry her. To escape him she has fled from the palace and taken refuge at the tomb of Proteus.

Teucer enters cautiously and looks around. He sees Helen near the tomb and is at once struck by her appearance, but he is sure that it cannot be Helen. He apologizes for the rude words which come to his lips when he first sees her; and in reply to her questions tells her that he has been banished from Salamis by his father Telamon because he did not die at Troy with his brother Ajax. He tells her further that Troy was captured seven years before, and that Menelaus had dragged off Helen by her hair; that he had not yet returned to Greece and was reported to be dead. He tells her also that Leda had hanged herself because of her daughter Helen's disgrace, and that there was a similar report in regard to Castor and Pollux, though some be-

lieved that they had become divinities. He then explains that he has come seeking information from the prophetess Theonoe about his proposed sailing to Cyprus. Apollo had told him that he must found the city of Salamis in that island and dwell there. Helen warns him away, for the present king kills all Greeks whom he finds in his domains. Teucer departs, and Helen bewails her misfortunes.

The chorus, consisting of Greek slave women who had been washing their clothes nearby, hear her lament and come to console her, and a lyric dialogue ensues. She tells them of her troubles. The lyric verse now changes to the iambic trimeter, the usual verse of the dialogue. Helen relates all that has befallen her, and is advised by the chorus to consult Theonoe, for the message of the Greek sailor may not be correct. She decides to do so and again the dialogue is carried on in lyric metres as Helen is overcome by thoughts of her misfortunes. She threatens to kill herself if what Teucer told her is true. The musical interludes in this part of the play must have added much to the effectiveness of its presentation. Accompanied by the chorus she goes to the palace and enters to consult the prophetess.

Menelaus now enters in wretched attire. He explains that he has been wandering about on the sea, trying to reach home. Now he has been shipwrecked, but got safely ashore on some wreckage with Helen and some of his crew. He does not know where he is, but he has left the others in a cave on the shore and has come forward alone to try to secure food and clothing. He goes to the door of the palace, knocks loudly upon it and shouts. An old woman opens the door and steps out. She warns him away and tells him that he will surely be put to death if the king finds him. She tells him further, in answer to his questions, that he is in the land of Egypt, that Proteus is dead, and that Helen has been living at the palace since before the Trojan war. Menelaus is completely mystified, since he has just left Helen in the cave. He withdraws, determined to await developments.

Helen returns followed by the chorus. They have learned from Theonoe that Menelaus is alive. Happy in this knowledge Helen starts back to her refuge at the tomb of Proteus. As she approaches it she discovers the unkempt stranger near it and she imagines that he must be somebody sent by the king to seize her. When she finds herself cut off she calls to the chorus for help. Menelaus shouts to her to stop and comes forward, but she makes still greater haste and finally succeeds in reaching the tomb. A dialogue ensues. Menelaus recognizes her but cannot believe his eyes. She, too, recognizes him when he comes nearer, and tells him that it was a mere phantom of air that Paris had conveyed to Troy. Menelaus is bewildered. He thinks that he is losing his reason and starts to leave Helen. At this moment an aged messenger arrives with the information that the phantom Helen left behind in the cave had vanished into the air after telling that she was a device of Hera's. The messenger sees the real Helen and addresses her, confusing her with the phantom. Menelaus, however, understands, and he greets Helen, and the two rejoice together in lyric verse. This whole passage bears a strong resemblance to the passage in the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* where Iphigenia recognizes her brother Orestes.[1] The messenger, an aged follower of Menelaus, rejoices with them. He is now sent back to the shore to tell those who are left of the crew about the situation and to warn them to be ready to give assistance. Helen meanwhile explains to Menelaus that his life is in danger from Theoclymenus, the king, who is determined to marry her; and that there is no way of escaping without his knowledge, for his sister Theonoe has the power of knowing everything that takes place. Theonoe is now seen coming out of the palace. She enters accompanied by torch-bearers carrying purifying sulphur. She addresses Helen and reminds her that her words have come true and that Menelaus is there. Helen begs her not to reveal his presence, and Menelaus comes forward and makes a long plea for Helen.

[1] Lines 827 ff.

Theonoe promises not to let her brother know of his arrival, for if she did so she would not be acting in the spirit of her dead father. She leaves them, and Helen and Menelaus talk over ways for their escape. After several plans have been rejected Helen suggests that Menelaus pretend to be a ship-wrecked sailor who has brought the news that Menelaus has been lost at sea; that she will beg of the king a ship on the pretense that she must make an offering at sea to the spirit of her dead husband. If she is successful Menelaus must contrive to get his crew aboard with her and afterwards to seize the ship and escape. She retires into the palace to cut off her hair as a sign of mourning, and to put on black robes, while Menelaus returns to the tomb. The chorus sing of Helen and the Trojan war.

The young king Theoclymenus now enters accompanied by a retinue of attendants and a pack of hunting dogs, and addresses his father's tomb. He has heard that a Greek has entered the land and he is determined to find and kill him. He does not see Helen at her customary place of refuge and he at once imagines that she has been carried off. He shouts for his attendants to bring out horses and chariots to search for her. Then suddenly he spies her coming out of the palace weeping. Her hair is cut off and she is dressed in black. She tells him that a messenger has brought her news that Menelaus is dead, and she points to the disguised Menelaus sitting in his wretched garments at the tomb. In a long dialogue in which each speaker speaks one line at a time, Helen explains that the unknown sailor can tell what Greek custom required that she should do for her departed husband. Menelaus is called and declares that the funeral arrangements must be made so that the dead man may be honored with his various belongings; and that a boat must take these so far out to sea that they will not be washed ashore. In this scene there are several passages which have a double meaning. The king does not understand their significance, but the audience does. They all enter the palace and the chorus sing the second stasimon. Helen then returns and informs the

chorus that Theonoe has kept back from her brother the truth about the stranger.

Theoclymenus, who is completely deceived, now directs his slaves to convey to the shore the offerings to be cast into the sea. He urges Helen not to go, for he is afraid she may be tempted to throw herself overboard; but she assures him that she has no such intention and that she must herself perform the rite. He gives the necessary orders about the ship to be used and directs the disguised Menelaus to escort Helen back after the ceremony. The chorus sing a song in which they express the hope that Helen, with the assistance of her brothers, the Dioscuri, may have a safe return home.

A messenger now enters with the news of Helen's escape. He relates at length how the crew of Menelaus were brought aboard ostensibly to help in performing the rites, and then, when they were well away from shore, had taken possession of the ship. The first impulse of the king is to kill his sister for not letting him know of the presence of Menelaus. He seizes a weapon for this purpose and is being held back by one of his slaves when the Dioscuri appear and restrain him. He quickly agrees to abide by their commands. Then, as the leader of the chorus repeats the same five lines which are found at the conclusion of the *Alcestis*, the *Andromache* and the *Bacchae*, the play comes to an end.

The *Helen* is a pleasant play, but in reading it one cannot fail to be struck with its close resemblance to the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*. This is seen not merely in the general structure and the plots of the two plays and in special scenes, but extends even to the language. There are many places where the same, or similar, words or expressions are used in similar situations. This close resemblance cannot be accidental. In fact it is so manifestly intentional on the part of the poet that one wants to know the reason for it. It looks as if the *Iphigenia* had been a great popular success, even if the tetralogy to which it belonged did not win the tragic prize. Its reputation in later times, as

shown for example by the way in which Aristotle[1] speaks of it, and its popularity today would certainly justify such an inference. It seems, therefore, not improbable that Euripides wished to repeat his success with another play constructed on similar lines, but like all imitations the copy falls short of the original.[2] That the *Helen* is the copy can be doubtful to no one.

Helen's flight to Troy with Paris is so well established a part of the old epic tradition in regard to the Trojan war that the version adopted by Euripides in the *Helen* could hardly be expected to supplant it. At the same time it accords well with the evident desire of Euripides for novelty in his plots. The story, however, probably did not originate with him. Even in the *Odyssey*[3] we find it related that Menelaus and Helen went to Egypt on their long-delayed journey home from Troy; and Herodotus[4] in his Second Book says that he heard in Egypt that Paris and Helen were driven there by stress of weather on their flight from Sparta, and that the king, Proteus, detained Helen and sent Paris on his way. Who invented the story of the phantom Helen is not known. It may have been Stesichorus. At least such a modification of a well-known tale would accord well with his inventive genius. At the same time Euripides may have got the suggestion for his plot from Herodotus. The Second Book of his history was apparently much read in Athens towards the end of the fifth century B.C. and even Sophocles[5] refers to it in one of his plays.

There is no great character in the *Helen*, nor, indeed, is there any character which especially excites our admiration. The appearance of Helen in the roll of a virtuous woman transported to Egypt by the will of the gods and anxiously waiting for news of her husband is novel, but that does not make her great. One cannot make a Penelope out of Helen. Neither is Menelaus a

[1] *Poetics*, 1452b, 1454a, 1454b, 1455a, 1455b.
[2] See *Proceedings of Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XXXII, 1901, pp. cxxii ff.
[3] IV, 227 ff.
[4] Book II, 112 ff.
[5] *Oedipus at Colonus*, 337 ff.

great character. Even his shipwreck scarcely makes him tragic. It is interesting to observe that he is not depicted as the hated Spartan, as he is in the *Andromache* and the *Orestes*. He is more like the Homeric Menelaus, but he is not great.

The subordinate characters, too, do not call for any particular comment. No one of them is especially noteworthy. Yet in spite of all this the *Helen* must have been found interesting by the ancient Athenian audience. No doubt the poet made the most of the Egyptian landscape in the stage setting to produce a spectacular effect; and this, as well as the novelty of the plot, the lyric passages, and the natural delight which all people take in following the adventures of a heroine, must have won the approval of the audience. Even the modern reader usually enjoys it.

One feature of the *Helen* which calls for brief comment is the entrance of the king at line 1165 accompanied by a retinue of servants and a pack of hunting dogs. Dogs are presumably also brought on the stage in company with the chorus of huntsmen in the *Hippolytus*,[1] though they are not expressly mentioned. Euripides was, however, not alone in thus bringing animals upon the Greek stage, as has already been noted.[2] Both Aeschylus and Sophocles made use of them when they thought that by so doing they could add to the interest of the spectators in a scene.

I cannot leave the *Helen* without mentioning a very remarkable interpretation, or rather misinterpretation of the play by A. W. Verrall.[3] This writer, who has found much to criticize in Euripides, attacks the *Helen* with especial virulence declaring it to be a jest and a mockery of serious drama and calling it other bad names. His views are so fantastic as hardly to be worthy of serious attention, and do not call for discussion here. So far as I know nobody has been convinced by them.

[1] Lines 58 ff.

[2] See pp. 31 f.

[3] *Four Plays of Euripides*, pp. 43 ff.

Other plays are known to have been written in antiquity with *Helen* for a title, but no further information about them has come down to modern times. It is extremely unlikely that they followed the story adopted by Euripides.

VIII

The Heracles Furens

The *Heracles Furens* is a play which until comparatively recent times has been rather neglected, and is still sometimes unappreciated, in spite of the fact that there is much in it which deserves to be classed with the best work of Euripides. The scene is laid at Thebes at the home of Heracles which lies outside the walls. The stage setting is simple. The house of Heracles, with an altar of Zeus the Preserver in front of it forms the background and in the distance no doubt the walls and houses of the city were visible. Amphitryon, who speaks the prologue, is seated on the steps of the altar and with him are Megara and her three sons. The action in the early part of the play takes place before the house; after the climax the interior of the house is shown by means of the eccyclema. In the prologue we learn that Megara, the wife of Heracles, has been living here with her three small sons and her husband's father Amphitryon while Heracles has been on his long journey to the Lower World. During his absence the populace has rebelled, put to death the father of Megara, Creon, and his sons, and established as king in place of him Lycus from Euboea. The family of Heracles has taken refuge at the altar in front of the house where Lycus, who supposes that Heracles is dead, informs them that they are all to be put to death. The boys are to be killed because they might take vengeance on Lycus for the death of Creon when they grow up. In despair Megara and her children ask and receive permission to leave the altar to enter the house and robe themselves for death. Just as they come out clad in their funeral garments Heracles arrives, learns of the situation and determines to be revenged upon his enemies, but warned by his father he decides

to use caution. He, therefore, enters the house with his children clinging to him. Lycus and his bodyguard come to seek their victims, are directed into the house by the aged Amphitryon and are there all slain by Heracles.

A new motive is now introduced into the play. Iris enters accompanied by Lussa, or Madness, in a chariot. The latter is directed, much against her will, to deprive Heracles of his reason. The fit seizes him while he is standing near the altar with his wife and children in the act of being purified for the slaughter of Lycus. He says he will postpone the purification until he has slain Eurystheus. He now goes completely mad, kills his wife and children, and is about to kill Amphitryon, when Athena hurls a huge stone against his chest and he falls unconscious. While he is in this condition he is bound by his servants. All this takes place behind the scenes. He is now shown by means of the eccyclema with his dead wife and children lying near him. At length he awakes and is unbound by Amphitryon and the servants when they think it safe to release him. Then all the horror of the deed that he has done comes upon him and in his distress he wishes to kill himself; but Theseus, who at that moment arrives with his army to aid Heracles against the usurper Lycus, persuades him to live and bear his sorrow. The last long speech of Heracles (1340 ff.) in which he recognizes that suicide would be cowardice and that he must endure his misfortunes, is a speech of noble simplicity. With a pathetic farewell to his father, accompanied by Theseus, he leaves the stage.

The older critics were inclined to find fault with the play for one reason or another. For example, Patin[1] finds no logical connection between the rescue of the children by their father and their death by his hand; and, again, he finds that the scene where Megara takes refuge at the altar resembles the scene in the *Andromache* where Andromache does the same thing and so claims a lack of originality in the play. But this is captious

[1] *Euripède*, II, pp. 1 ff.

criticism. The altar was a natural place of refuge and is so used repeatedly in the drama. At the same time it is only fair to Patin to say that he finds merits in the play as well as defects and in some ways he feels that "it comes near being the most pathetic and most lofty of the plays of Euripides." Croiset[1] would approve only the waking scene; while Christ[2] finds it full of pathos and admits that there are passages which are distinctly tragic. This somewhat patronizing attitude seems to me to be utterly wrong. When Verrall writes[3] "For power, for truth, for poignancy, for depth of penetration into the nature and history of man this picture of the Hellenic hero may be matched against anything in art" he is coming much nearer to a true approximation of the real merits of the play. At the same time we must set aside Verrall's idea that the poet had any ulterior motive; that he was trying to discredit the tradition that Heracles was more than mortal. Euripides was quite content to accept Heracles as he found him without attempting to discredit his more than human powers. There is no reason why he should declare himself for or against such a belief. He certainly had no theory to prove. To imagine that he had is to misunderstand the play.

I find the *Heracles* a very powerful tragedy. In some respects it is the most tragic of all the dramas of Euripides. The good-natured hero, who has overcome all difficulties and performed one after another the terrible tasks imposed upon him, even going down into the realms of the dead, at length returns home to find his family on the verge of destruction. He rescues them only to slay them himself when conquered by a power over which he has no control. This dreadful reversal of fortune, the horrible anguish of mind which he passes through when he recovers his senses, carries tragedy to its most extreme point. The hero has a greater battle to win over his own grief and remorse than any he has been engaged in hitherto.

[1] *Op. cit.* III, p. 306.
[2] *Op. cit.* ed. 2, p. 227. This is changed in the 6th ed. by Schmid.
[3] *Four Plays of Euripides*, pp. 134 ff.

The unity in the play is to be found in the character of Heracles. Even at the beginning, before he appears on the stage, we are thinking of him. The subject of the drama is an experience in his life, a terrible experience, and the introductory scenes are a necessary preliminary. The figure of Heracles completely dominates the play though he is on the stage for only 454 lines out of a total of 1428. The horror of the scene in which he slays his children is left to the imagination of the spectator and only portrayed by the words of the messenger. This is in accord with the usual Greek custom, and it is most effective dramatically, for we imagine the scene more vividly than it could ever be acted on any stage.

The other characters in the play are not particularly noteworthy. Amphitryon, the aged father of the hero, is represented as an old man devoted to the interests of his son and his son's family. In the early part of the play he recognizes his own inability to cope with a dangerous situation. He is willing to give his life to save the children (319 ff.) but he has not the power to make a successful resistance against his enemies and even takes Zeus to task for his apparent injustice. Later in the play we see him exhibiting the curiosity natural to old age (610 ff.) and then when the disaster comes we find him distressed beyond measure by it, but full of sympathy and pity for his unfortunate son. Amphitryon is thus a definite personage in the cast.

Megara is a wife worthy of her husband. She is a brave woman and a good mother to her children, but she does not have a very important part in the play. Her joy at the arrival of her husband is natural and restrained. The other characters call for little comment. Lycus is the petty tyrant; Theseus the devoted and loyal friend. Iris and Lussa introduce a supernatural element. The messenger as usual is true to life and tells his story with great vividness. The chorus consists of Theban elders who are in full sympathy with the family of Heracles.

The date of the *Heracles* cannot be definitely determined.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf would put it between the *Suppliants* and the *Troades*, that is after 421. J. A. Spranger[1] argues for 422 as the date. If we say that it was brought out about 420 B.C. we shall probably not be far out of the way.

The *Heracles Furens* has not been much imitated. Seneca wrote a play by the same name, but it is very different. In fact there is almost nothing in common between the two. In Seneca's play there is no trace of the simplicity which gives its dramatic interest to the *Heracles* of Euripides. Suetonius (*Nero*, 21) tells us that the mad Heracles was one of the favorite rôles of Nero and that on one occasion he was taken seriously by a young soldier who ran to help him. This anecdote, as has been pointed out, seems to indicate that in the time of Nero a *Heracles Furens* closer to the tragedy of Euripides than Seneca's was being played in Rome.

A very full and scholarly edition of the *Heracles* has been published by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, second edition, 1895.

IX

The Heraclidae

The *Heraclidae* is a play which in many ways resembles the *Suppliants*. It was evidently written with a patriotic motive, to honor the poet's native land, though for what special occasion we do not know. Unfortunately the text has not come down to us in the best of condition for there appear to be several breaks in it, one of considerable length.

The scene is laid at Marathon in front of the temple of Zeus. In the foreground about an altar are grouped Iolaus, the former companion of Heracles, now an old man, and the sons of the hero. His daughters, together with their grandmother, Alcmena, have taken refuge inside the temple. Iolaus speaks the prologue and explains the situation. After the death of Heracles Eurystheus, his ancient enemy, determined to exterminate the children of the

[1] *Class. Rev.* 1919, pp. 54 ff.

hero, but they escaped his clutches by wandering from city to city. Wherever they went the hostility of Eurystheus followed and no city was willing to incur the enmity of Argos in protecting them. At length under the guidance of Iolaus they have come to Marathon and taken refuge at the temple. Such is the situation at the beginning of the play.

A herald now comes from Eurystheus with the object of carrying off the children by force. Iolaus calls for help and the chorus, consisting of citizens of Marathon, come to his assistance. The king, Demophon, son of Theseus, hastens in to learn the cause of the disturbance and is appealed to for aid on the grounds of relationship, and gratitude for the service Heracles had done his father. The herald is dismissed and leaves with threats, while Demophon decides to consult the Athenians as to his future course. After a short song by the chorus Demophon returns with the news of the approach of Eurystheus and his army, but adds that the oracles declare that he can obtain victory only by the sacrifice of the daughter of a noble father to Persephone. Iolaus would gladly offer himself but is shown that that would not help the situation. At this moment Macaria comes from the temple, learns the cause of Iolaus's distress and offers herself as a voluntary sacrifice, declining the suggestion that she draw lots with her sisters. After a tender farewell to Iolaus and the chorus she goes to her death bravely, as a daughter of Heracles should. After a short choral ode a man arrives with news that Hyllus, son of Heracles, and his band have joined the Athenian army and that they are preparing to engage in battle with the Argives. The aged Iolaus insists that he must go and take his part in the approaching conflict, and he leaves leaning on the messenger's arm and making vain efforts at haste. After a choral song news is brought in that Hyllus and the Athenians have been entirely successful. Iolaus has proved himself a hero and taken Eurystheus alive, for a miracle has taken place. The aged man had prayed that he might be young again for just one day, and the gods had granted his prayer. Eurystheus is

now brought in a prisoner and is assailed with reproaches by Alcmena, who is determined that he shall be put to death. The chorus protest that it is not right to kill a prisoner who has been captured alive. Eurystheus sees that there is no hope, but grateful to the chorus for their intervention in his behalf he tells them of an ancient oracle according to which his grave will be a protection to them and a cause of injury to the descendants of Heracles. Alcmena orders him away for execution, and with a brief comment from the chorus the play ends.

The *Heraclidae* as we now have it is the shortest of the tragedies of Euripides with the exception of the *Rhesus*, which is known to be defective. It contains but 1055 lines. This fact naturally leads us to suspect that some part of the play may have become lost, and our suspicions are confirmed when we examine the text critically. The commentators, however, are not all agreed as to where the breaks come. W. Vonhoff in a Cottbus *Program* for 1872 discussed the matter at length and concluded that there are lacunae after lines 77, 110, 311, 629, 805 and 838; that all of these are short except that after line 629 which must have been of considerable length. Most of the editors agree with him except in regard to the last passage. Hermann thought that the choral passage at the end of the play was much longer than it now is and he may be right; but Murray's suggestion that there was a debate here between two parts of the chorus as to the justice of the condemnation of Eurystheus certainly cannot be correct. Such a debate at the end of the play would be out of place and inartistic.

Much may be said in favor of a lacuna after line 629. Here Kirchhoff is probably right in believing that an account of the death of Macaria and a lament of Alcmena and the chorus have fallen out. The passages quoted from the *Heraclidae* by ancient authors and not found in our text probably belonged to this lost passage, if they are correctly quoted as coming from this play.

The *Heraclidae* cannot in any sense be considered a strong play. It has no strong characters though there are two which excite our

admiration. The noble young girl, Macaria, dying without hesitation to save her brothers and sisters is another example of a type Euripides depicted so well in Iphigenia, in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, and in Polyxena in the *Hecuba*, and is the earliest instance of this motive in the extant plays. The aged Iolaus, too, is well drawn and admirable in his determination to protect the children of his former friend; and even the humorous touch, where his wish to take part in the battle has to contend with the bodily infirmities of old age (lines 735 ff.) does not detract from his character. Our interest in the early part of the play is in the fate of the children of Heracles and it culminates in the tragic self-sacrifice of Macaria. In the latter part we follow the fortunes of Iolaus and Eurystheus, but the children are always on the stage and we are not permitted to forget them. Here, if anywhere, we find unity in the play.

Like the *Suppliants* the action of the *Heraclidae* covers considerable time. After Demophon is informed of the tragic situation of the children of Heracles he consults with his advisers, learns the decision of the oracle, then, after the death of Macaria, he collects his army, and marches out and gives battle to Eurystheus. Then, after the victory, Eurystheus is brought in and condemned. All these incidents would occupy much more time than is usually allotted to a tragedy.

The date of the *Heraclidae* is not known. A passage from the *didascaliae* preserved by Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVIII, 4, 27) shows that it was brought out with the *Cresphontes* and the *Temenus*, both now lost. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf urges 429–427 B.C. as the probable date (see *Hermes*, XI, p. 302; XVII, pp. 337–364). He points out that line 1006 seems to be imitated by Aristophanes[1] in the *Wasps* (line 1160) and that the latter play was brought out in 422 B.C. Boeckh's idea that the play dates from the time when Athens was about to make an alliance with Argos is certainly wrong; for the whole spirit of the

[1] *Heraclidae*, 1006, ἐχθροῦ λέοντος δυσμενῆ βλαστήματα.
Wasps, 1160, ἐχθρῶν παρ' ἀνδρῶν δυσμενῆ καττύματα.

play is hostile to Argos, personified in Eurystheus. All that can be legitimately inferred, then, as to the date is that the *Heraclidae* was brought out early in the Peloponnesian War when a play which made a patriotic appeal would be most welcome.

X

The Hippolytus

The *Hippolytus Crowned* of Euripides is very generally regarded as one of his strongest plays. It is not hard to see why this is so, for apart from its other merits it has a good plot in the modern sense, and this develops steadily to a crisis. It was also regarded as one of his best plays in antiquity as is seen from the Hypothesis, where it is described as a play of the first rank (τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα τῶν πρώτων); and, what is more, it won the first prize in the year 428 B.C. when it was brought out. The Hypothesis records that Iophon came second, and Ion third, on that occasion, but neither the names of their plays, nor the names of the other plays of the tetralogy which won for Euripides have been preserved. It was called the *Hippolytus Crowned* (στεφανίας or στεφανηφόρος) to distinguish it from an earlier tragedy of the poet, the *Hippolytus Veiled* (καλυπτόμενος) which, however, had not been well received.[1]

The scene is laid at Troezen in the Peloponnesus, not at Athens as is stated in the Hypothesis. In the background is the palace in which Theseus and Phaedra are living. The line of the seashore is seen extending on one side.

The prologue is spoken by the goddess Aphrodite who explains that Hippolytus, the son of Theseus by his former wife, the Amazon Hippolyte, has only scorn for herself, the goddess of Love, but holds in high esteem Artemis the huntress. For this she has determined to punish him and has caused his stepmother Phaedra to fall in love with him. She had seen him once when Hippolytus had gone to Athens, and now that she

[1] See p. 249.

has accompanied Theseus to Troezen, where Hippolytus lives, Phaedra is overcome with lovesickness. She is to be the agent through whom the goddess proposes to punish Hippolytus and to cause his death.

The youthful Hippolytus enters followed by a band of huntsmen all singing. They do not form the regular chorus of the play, which consists of women of Troezen, but are a supplementary chorus.[1] This part of the play with its setting in the open air, early in the morning, is typically Euripidean. It has some of the elements of the modern opera and calls to mind the opening scenes in the *Electra* and the *Ion*.

An old slave approaches and warns Hippolytus that he should honor Aphrodite as well as Artemis, but he lightly disregards the advice. He passes off the stage, and the chorus of women of Troezen enter singing a song. They have come to inquire about Phaedra who, they have learned, is ill. Phaedra's old nurse comes from the palace with Phaedra leaning heavily upon her. Phaedra babbles of mountains and woods and hunting-dogs, to the consternation of the nurse who thinks that she is losing her mind. The cause of her mistress's illness she cannot discover. When, however, she happens to mention the name of Hippolytus a groan comes from Phaedra. At length, after much questioning, it all comes out, that she is lovesick for Hippolytus. The nurse is at first horrified, but she is convinced that her duty is to save her mistress and she tells her that she has an antidote for love. The nurse departs and Phaedra retires to her house and the chorus come forward and sing of love. Soon the nurse enters in alarm followed by Phaedra in a state of great excitement and despair. She has learned that the nurse has approached Hippolytus and revealed to him the knowledge of her love which he had indignantly rejected. Hippolytus enters thoroughly aroused and angry at the proposition which has been made him; but he cannot speak freely for the nurse, before telling

[1] A scholium on *Hippolytus* l. 58 calls attention to the two choruses in this play and compares the two choruses in the *Alexander* and the *Antiope*.

him what her errand was, had persuaded him to take an oath not to repeat what she said. He now threatens to break his word with the famous line "The tongue has sworn, not the mind" (*ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος*, line 612), a line which has sometimes been wrongly quoted and misinterpreted to the discredit of Euripides.[1] But in spite of his threat Hippolytus keeps his oath even though it costs him his life. He makes a long speech, the upshot of which is well expressed in line 627 *τούτῳ δὲ δῆλον ὡς γυνὴ κακὸν μέγα*, and he declares his undying hatred for the whole female sex. Phaedra is overwhelmed with shame and humiliation. At the same time she is terribly afraid, for she thinks that Hippolytus will immediately tell his father and that will mean ruin for her. Theseus must be prevented from knowing. She rails at the old nurse who tries to protect her by making the chorus swear to keep silent about the matter.

The chorus now sing a song of foreboding. They have no sooner finished than the nurse shrieks from the house the dreadful news that her mistress has hanged herself. At this moment Theseus arrives and asks the cause of the outcry. The doors are opened and the body of Phaedra revealed by means of the eccyclema. Theseus is overcome with grief, and then he suddenly discovers that she is holding a letter in her hand. He breaks the seal and reads it. It accuses Hippolytus. Overwhelmed with sorrow and anger Theseus calls upon his father Poseidon to grant him one of the three curses which he had once promised him and to put an end to Hippolytus. The chorus try to dissuade him but without avail. Hippolytus now enters. He has heard his father's outcry and has come to see what the matter is. He is astonished to find Phaedra dead and his father enraged at him. Theseus bitterly assails his son, but Hippolytus proclaims his innocence and takes a solemn oath that he has not committed the offence with which he is charged. Furthermore he shows that there was nothing to tempt him to

[1] It is parodied by Aristophanes, *Achar.* 398; *Frogs*, 99 ff.; *Thes.* 275; and translated by Cicero, *De Off.* III, 108.

such a crime. Theseus, however, does not believe him and banishes him from his dominions. Hippolytus is overwhelmed with shame and grief, but he keeps his oath and does not accuse Phaedra. After a song by the chorus in which the hunting companions of Hippolytus who had appeared early in the play seem to have a part, a groom enters and tells Theseus that his son has been killed. He had started to leave the country and as he drove along the shore a monster wave broke along the beach and cast up a bull which terrified the horses (Fig. 1). They ran away and at length overturned the car. Hippolytus was thrown out, entangled in the reins and dragged by the horses. Theseus orders that he be brought before him. The goddess Artemis now appears and tells Theseus the truth, that Hippolytus was innocent, but could not explain because he was bound by the oath he had given the nurse. Hippolytus is brought in grievously injured and is met by Artemis. He laments his own fate and his father's as well. Theseus is overcome with remorse. Artemis declares that she will have her revenge on some favorite of Aphrodite and that she will see to it that the people of Troezen honor Hippolytus after his death. Hippolytus forgives his father and dies.

The *Hippolytus* is an interesting play to the reader as it must have been also to the spectator in the theatre. In other words it does not depend so much upon the action and upon the stage setting for its success as some of the other plays of Euripides do. One naturally wonders about the earlier *Hippolytus* and wherein it failed. We learn from the Hypothesis that something that was "unseemly and deserving of criticism" (*ἀπρεπὲς καὶ κατηγορίας ἄξιον*) was corrected in the later play. What that was can only be inferred; but it has been plausibly suggested that in the earlier play Phaedra had herself revealed her love to Hippolytus and that in shame he had covered his head with his cloak, thus suggesting the sub-title *καλυπτόμενος*. The twenty short fragments of this play which are still preserved do not give us any help. In Seneca's *Hippolytus* Phaedra frankly acknowledges

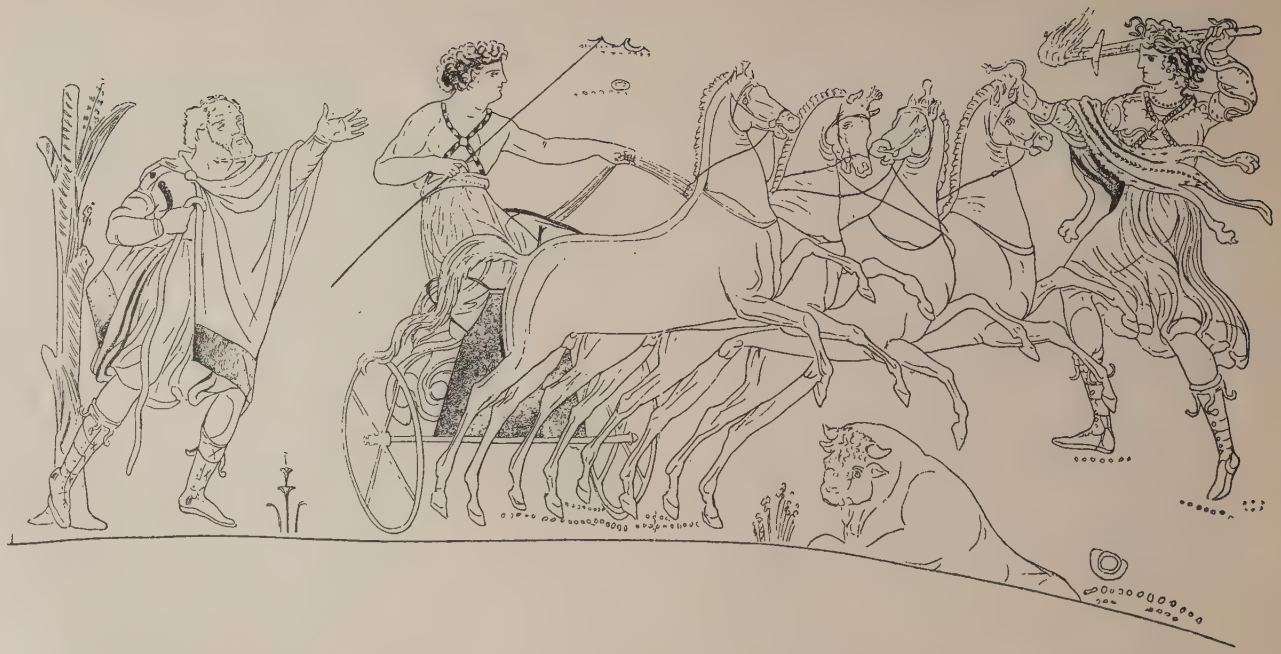

FIGURE 1.—HIPPOLYTUS IN HIS CHARIOT. FROM A CRATER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

her crime, and she survives the death of Hippolytus. Seneca may have taken this version of the story from the lost play, but he can have taken little else, for there is almost nothing in common between the spirit of Seneca's tragedy and that of Euripides.

In the extant play Hippolytus is the most important, though not the most tragic, character. He is represented as a frank, manly young fellow devoted to outdoor sports, with his mind filled with thoughts of his horses and his hunting dogs. He is the leader and idol of a little group of companions interested in the same things. An honest, clean-living, clean-thinking young man he is horrified at the disclosure which the nurse makes him. His keen sense of honor makes him keep the oath which the nurse had beguiled him into taking. His tragic end excites our grief and our resentment at the triumph of wickedness over innocence. The nobility of the character of Hippolytus gives the play its charm.

The real tragic character, however, is Phaedra. Early in the play we find her in the grip of a power which she cannot control. Her passion for Hippolytus is too great to withstand, and yet she represses it, and it is only by repeated questions that the nurse at length learns the truth. Even then Phaedra insists that the nurse keep silent. She knows what is right and what is wrong, and she tries to do what she should, but the power of Aphrodite is too great for her. When she has learned what the nurse has done she is overwhelmed with shame and anger. At the same time she is afraid, for she knows that Theseus will learn the truth; and she is angry at Hippolytus for his scorn of her. Her letter is written partly to secure revenge, but partly also to defend herself by making Theseus think her innocent. He must above all be prevented from knowing the real facts. The dramatist has given us in Phaedra a very vivid picture of a type of woman, hateful to be sure, but not the offensive creature depicted by Seneca.

The other characters in the *Hippolytus* call for little comment.

The Theseus is distinctly secondary, with no particularly outstanding qualities. He sacrifices the life of his son without investigating the letter which accuses him, and when the truth comes to light his self reproaches are of no avail. And yet Theseus is tragic in his misfortunes.

The nurse is the type of devoted servant who makes the interest of her mistress of first importance. When she learns the true cause of her mistress's illness she is horrified, but she puts aside her scruples and does what she knows to be wrong in order to save her mistress. Euripides has given us in the nurse a character true to life.

The Hippolytus story as we have it in the play does not seem to be very old. Phaedra is mentioned in the *Odyssey* (XI, 321) among the ghosts whom Odysseus sees in the Lower World, but there is no mention of Hippolytus. It has been suggested that the story is not older than the seventh century B.C. and this may be the case.

Sophocles wrote a *Phaedra*, but we do not know whether it was earlier or later than the *Hippolytus*, and we do not know how the subject was treated. At all events the plot of the extant *Hippolytus* is essentially Euripidean, as he used a similar motive in three other plays, the *Phrixus*, the *Stheneboea* and the *Phoenix*.

There are two well-known imitations of the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, Seneca's play of the same name and Racine's *Phèdre*. The former is not only as different as possible from the play of Euripides, but as a dramatic production not even to be mentioned with it. Racine's *Phèdre* is a famous masterpiece of the classic French stage. D'Annunzio's *Fedra* is so far removed from Euripides that it cannot be called an imitation.

XI

The Ion

The *Ion* of Euripides is in some respects one of the most delightful of his extant plays, but it is not much read today and comparatively little attention has been given to it by scholars.

In fact it has not merely been neglected, but it has been most unjustly attacked and abused by critics who have failed to understand it, notably by Verrall. The motive of the play is, however, simple—to give a divine ancestor to the Ionian race; and it must not be forgotten that the Athenians were Ionians. It has a good plot consistently developed and it would undoubtedly act well. It contains much beautiful poetry, and the opening scene at the temple is one of the most charming on the Greek stage. The boy Ion, the hero of the play, wins our sympathy at the very beginning and holds it through to the end. He is the sort of young hero that the audience in the theatre is always ready to admire. The *Ion* is, in fact, an excellent example of that type of Greek tragedy which was written to interest the spectators and which ends happily. I have translated a considerable amount of it in an attempt to show that it deserves a much better reputation than it has, and that the reader may judge for himself something of its merits.

The plot is a very unusual one. The scene is laid at Delphi in front of the temple of Apollo, and round about the enclosure stand groups of sculpture, Heracles and the Hydra, Bellerophon and the Chimaera, and others. The time is just at sunrise. The god Hermes appears and speaks the prologue. He explains that some years before—perhaps twelve or fourteen—Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus king of Athens, had without the knowledge of her family given birth to a son by Apollo. The child had at once been exposed in a basket by its mother in a cave on the Acropolis, and is supposed to be dead. Hermes, however, had at the request of Apollo carried it to Delphi and placed it on the steps of the temple where the priestess had found it. She took the boy and brought him up, and he is now employed as an attendant in the temple. In the mean time Creusa has married Xuthus, a famous warrior who had saved her father's kingdom and has now succeeded to his throne. No children have blessed this union and Xuthus has come to Delphi to ask the reason of the god. Creusa has come with him and means to

take the opportunity to learn definitely from the oracle the fate of the child whom she had abandoned so long before. The play, that is after the prologue, opens with a long lyric passage full of color and the atmosphere of the early morning. In fact, it begins almost like a modern opera.

In making the translations which follow I have tried to give the effect of the Greek by varying the metres as in the original, without necessarily using the same metre. Thus the anapaests I have rendered by English anapaests; but for the logaoedic verse I have used more familiar rhythms, but always without rhyme. I have occasionally taken a slight liberty with the text when the spirit of the Greek could be more effectively reproduced by so doing. For the iambic trimeter verse of the dialogue and for a few trochaic tetrameters I have used the usual blank verse.

The boy Ion, accompanied by several slaves, comes out of the temple to sweep the pavement of the court and make things ready for the day. He speaks:

> The Sun with his four-horse chariot shining illumines the earth;
> The stars before his fire in the sky into darkness flee;
> The untrodden peaks of Parnassus aflame catch the glow of the day.
> To the beams of the roof of Phoebus arises dry incense smoke,
> And the woman of Delphi sits on the tripod revered, to the Greeks
> Revealing in song the oracular words which Apollo gives forth.

[He turns to the slaves who have accompanied him from the temple.]

> But come, ye Delphian servants of Phoebus Apollo, be off
> To Castalia's silvery eddies, and then when your vessels you've filled
> With the clear, sparkling water returning come straight to the temple again.

[The slaves take their water-jars and depart. Ion continues.]

It is well to say things of good omen, and likewise well to repeat
Fair words to the people who wish to consult the oracle here.
But now for the tasks which from childhood on I've always performed.
With boughs of the bay and with sacred garlands the entrance ways
Of Phoebus will I make clean and I'll sprinkle the ground about,
And the flocks of birds which the offerings soil with my darts I'll make flee,
Since Phoebus's temple which reared me a parentless child I serve.

[He picks up a branch of a bay tree and begins to sweep the court. As he does so he sings]

Come, thou thriving branch of bay
Which dost Phoebus' altar sweep,
From immortal gardens sprung,
Where the waters of the brooks
Sending forth their flowing streams
Wet the sacred myrtle's stem.
'Tis with thee that all day long,
With the swift flight of the sun,
I Apollo's pavement sweep
Serving him from day to day.
Paean, oh! Paean, oh!
Happy, happy may'st thou be,
Leto's son.

Fair the service I perform,
Phoebus, here before thy house
Honoring thy prophetic shrine.
'Tis a noble task to serve
God, and not a man as slave.
Never do I weary grow
Toiling at my holy work.
Father Phoebus, thee I praise,
Thee, supporter of my life;

In this shrine I call thee sire.
Paean, oh! Paean, oh!
Happy, happy may'st thou be,
Leto's son.

[He stops sweeping and takes up a bowl of water]

Now my task I'll cease,
Now the twigs of bay
I lay aside;
From a golden bowl
Gaea's dew I'll cast,
Castalia's stream,
Sprinkling limpid water round.
Ever holy from my bed
May I always Phoebus serve,
May I never cease my toil
Save to meet a happy lot.

[He sees the birds approaching.]

Ah! Ah!
Now they are coming, the light-winged birds,
Now they are leaving Parnassus's vales,
Stop, I command ye, light not on the roof,
Seek not to enter this golden abode.

[An eagle approaches. Ion picks up his bow.]

Herald of Zeus, I will hit thee again
Conquering with arrows the strength of thy claws.

[He shoots an arrow. The eagle flies away and a swan approaches.]

Here comes another, a red-legged swan
Sailing straight on towards the altar's top here.
Elsewhere betake thyself. Out of the way!
Phoebus's lyre although tuned to thy songs

Will not protect thee from arrows. Be off!
Light on the Delian lake, and not here.
If thou obeyest not blood will be shed;
Blood will defile thy fair musical notes.

[He sees another bird under the coping.]

Ah! Ah!
What new arrival is this that I see?
Who's come to build a soft nest for his young
Under the coping? The twang of my bow
Quickly will put thee to flight. Dost thou hear?
Go to Alpheus's eddies and there
Rear up thy brood, or by Isthmian stream.
Phoebus's offerings must not be harmed,
No, nor his temple defiled; but I dread
Heralds to slaughter who bring from the gods
Signs of their wishes to mortals on earth.
But in these labors in which I'm engaged
Phoebus, the god, I will serve as his slave,
Never will I my supporter desert.

[The chorus consisting of fifteen women attendants of Creusa now enter and gaze about at the wonders of the temple. The leader speaks.]

Leader of Chorus — Not alone in sacred Athens
Are there homes of gods,
Pillared halls and wayside temples,
But with Phoebus, son of Leto,
Is the shining light
Of the two fair radiant faces.

A member of Chorus, gazing at a group of sculpture — See the water-snake of Lerna,
How the son of Zeus
Slaughters it with golden dagger.

Another — Yes, I see. And close beside him
With his fiery torch
Stands another man to help him.
Is it he who shared his labors,

Iolaus bold,
Whose exploits my loom has pictured?

Another, pointing to another group of sculpture — See the winged horse's rider
Slaughtering monster fierce,
Fire breathing, triple bodied.

The first — Everywhere my eye is wandering.
Look, upon the walls
There's the battle of the Giants.

Another — Oh! my dears, how I am looking.

The first — Do you see the fierce-eyed goddess
At Enceladus
Brandishing her brazen buckler?

The second — I behold my goddess, Pallas!

The first — Ah! and do you see the frightful
Fiery thunderbolt
Which Zeus wields in hands far-darting?

The second — Yes, I see; he is consuming
With the flash of fire
Mimas fierce, the dreadful giant.

The first — Still another of Earth's children
Bromian Bacchus slays
With his ivy staff unwarlike.

[The leader of the chorus now sees Ion near the temple and addresses him.]

Tell me boy beside the temple
Is it right for me
To set foot beyond these precincts?

Ion — No, it is forbidden, strangers.

Leader of Chorus — May I not inquire this of thee?

Ion — What?

Leader of Chorus — If in the house of Phoebus
Rests the Navel Stone
Centre of this world of mortals?

Ion — Yes, it's there and wrapt in fillets.
Round it Gorgons stand.

Leader of Chorus That is what report has told us.
Ion If you wish with bloodless offering
Here before his home
Phoebus to consult, draw nearer
To his altars, but without the
Sacrifice of sheep
Enter not the inner precinct.
Leader of Chorus That I understand; the god's law
I shall not transgress;
But the works of art I'll gaze at.
Ion Look at everything that's lawful.
Leader of Chorus That I'll do, for here my mistress
Sent me forth to see
All the sights in the enclosure.
Ion Of what house are ye the servants?
Leader of Chorus In Athena's land a royal
Palace nurtures me.
But my lady now is present.

[Creusa enters, and the lyric metres are abandoned for the iambic trimeter verse in the Greek, rendered here into our more familiar blank verse.]

Ion A noble face thou hast, and bearing such
As is clear proof of noble character,
Lady, who'er thou art. For when one so
Conducts himself his bearing tells us much.

[Creusa looks about her and bursts into tears. Ion continues.]

Ah!
Thou dost surprise me, lady, with thy tears,
Bedewing thus thy noble cheeks as soon
As thou dost see Apollo's holy shrine.
What is it that disturbs thy peace of mind?
Where others see the temple court with joy,
Why is it that thy eyes are filled with tears?

Creusa — It is not lack of keenness on thy part
That makes thee wonder at these tears of mine.
But when I first beheld Apollo's house
An ancient recollection filled my mind.
My thoughts were in my home, though I am here.
Ah, wretched women, what things the gods dare!
How, tell me, shall we ever justice win
If we're laid low by crimes of those who rule?

Ion — What is there unexplained that worries thee?

Creusa — It's nothing. I but shot my arrows forth
And now I'm silent. Think no more of it.

Ion — Who art thou? From what land hast thou come here?
What is thy native city and thy name?

Creusa — Creusa I am called, Erechtheus' child,
And Athens is the place where I was born.

Ion — A famous city, lady, is thy home,
And I admire thee sprung from noble sires.

Creusa — Aye, there I'm fortunate, but nowhere else.

At this point Ion, boylike, changes the subject and questions Creusa about certain old Athenian stories, and then about her own personal history; and, in turn, tells her the little that he knows about himself, that he was brought to the temple as a baby and has no knowledge as to who his parents were. After this long conversation Creusa broaches the subject for which she has come to Delphi, pretending that she is inquiring for a friend. Ion assures her that there is no possible chance for her to put her questions to the oracle, as the matter reflects discredit on Apollo. Xuthus now arrives and enters the temple to consult the god. He had remained behind at the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadaea while Creusa went on ahead to Delphi. The scene then comes to an end, and the chorus sing a song begging Athena and Artemis to urge Apollo to make a favorable answer to Xuthus.

Ion, who had left the stage, now returns just as Xuthus comes out of the temple and he is overwhelmed by the latter's attempts to embrace him. Xuthus explains that the oracle has declared that the first person whom he meets on leaving the temple will be his son. He neither knows nor cares how this may be, but is only too happy to accept it as a fact. He proposes to give a banquet in Ion's honor. The boy does not understand it all, and though he acknowledges that it must be so since the oracle of Apollo says so, he would much rather remain quietly at Delphi than go to Athens and receive the honors in store for him there.

The chorus then sing of the unhappy fate which they see awaits Creusa. She now returns with an aged man, a slave, who had taken care of her since childhood, and learns from her attendants (the chorus) what has happened during her absence. She is filled with bitterness at the manifest injustice of Apollo, and in a long lyric passage bewails her unfortunate position and heaps reproaches upon him. She determines to kill Ion by poison, and the old slave volunteers to help her. After a song by the chorus a man of her household enters hastily seeking Creusa. He speaks:

Slave — Ye women, where shall I my mistress find,
Erechtheus' famous daughter? I have made
A thorough search for her throughout the town
And though sought everywhere she is not found.

Chorus — What is it, fellow-slave, that makes you run?
What is the message, tell me, that you bear?

Slave — We're hunted; for the men who rule this land
Are seeking her that she be stoned to death.

Chorus — Ah, me! what do you say? Have we been caught
Contriving secret murder of the boy?

Slave — What! do you know? You'll share her dreadful fate.

Chorus — How were our hidden plottings brought to light?

Slave — The god, not wishing to be stained by crime,
Found out a way for right to conquer wrong.

Chorus I beg you as a suppliant tell me how,
For when I learn this I will happier die
If die I must, or happier see the light.

Slave The husband of Creusa with his new-found son
Departed from Apollo's holy shrine
For banquets and for offerings to the gods
Where fire leaps up in Bacchic revelry.
His purpose was with sacrificial blood
To stain the double rocks of Bacchus there
By way of a thanksgiving for his son.
He said, "Do thou, my boy, remaining here
Set up with workmen's help the tents secure.
And when I've made my sacrifices to
The deities of birth, if I remain
Too long away, then let the feast be spread
For all our friends here present in the land."
He took the calves, his victims, and set out.
The youth with dignity securely fixed
By means of upright posts the wall-less sides
Of the enclosing structure, guarding well
Against the sun's assaults, not turning it
In the direction of the noonday rays
Nor yet again to face the dying sun.
He measured out a square of which each side
Was just a plethrum long and in extent
Ten thousand feet—that's what the learned say—
Inviting to a banquet all the folk
Of Delphi. Then from out the treasuries
He took the holy tapestries which were
A wonder for mankind to look upon
And made an awning. First he threw around
A curtain made of hangings for the roof,
A dedication from the son of Zeus
Which Heracles once brought here to the god
As spoil taken from the Amazons.
Among them there were webs with these designs:
There Uranus within the vault of Heaven
The stars assembled, while the Sun god drove

His horses towards the dying flame of day
Before the shining light of Hesperus.
And dark-robed Night drove rapidly her steeds
Not fastened by a trace, but by the yoke,
And stars went with the goddess. Through the sky
And by the middle way the Pleiades
Advanced as did Orion with his sword,
And overhead the Bear with hinder parts
Turned towards the golden pole. The moon's bright disk,
Which cuts the month in two, was rising up
As were the Hyades, the sailors' guide,
And Dawn, light-bringing, driving off the stars.
For side-walls other tapestries he spread
Of foreign weave. Ships well equipped with oars
Were there depicted fighting with the Greeks
And there were monsters partly man, part beast,
And men on horseback in pursuit of deer,
And savage lion hunts. And then he placed
Close to the entrance way a new design,
Old Cecrops rolling with his serpent coils
Beside his daughters, this an offering
Of some Athenian; and in the midst
Of the great room he set gold mixing-bowls.
A herald went on tiptoe and announced
That every man who dwelt within the land,
If he so wished, might come in to the feast.
And when the room was filled, then all the guests
Enjoyed the banquet to their hearts' content
Adorned with garlands. When the happy time
Had reached an end an aged man came in
And stood there in the vacant middle space,
And caused much laughter to the banqueters
As he prepared to make an offering.
First from his pitchers he poured water forth
To wash his hands, and then some gum of myrrh
He burned as incense; then quite by himself
He took charge of the golden drinking-cups.

And when the time for music had arrived
And for the common mixing-bowl, he said,
"You ought to take the little cups away
And bring some big ones that those present here
May sooner reach a joyful state of mind."
They had the trouble then of bringing in
Cups of wrought silver and gold drinking-bowls.
And he picked up the choicest and advanced
As though to gratify his new-found lord
And gave him a full goblet, dropping in
The wine the deadly poison which they say
My mistress gave him, that the boy might die.
And no one knew it. But this son who's been
Revealed, together with the others there
Stood holding the libation in his hands
When some slave spoke a word of blasphemy.
Then he, as one within the temple reared
And in the company of noble seers,
Set down the wine and ordered them to fill
Another beaker, and upon the ground
He poured the first libation of the god,
And bade them all pour out their offerings, too.
Then there was silence while the sacred bowls
We filled with water and with Byblus wine.
Amid our labors there came rushing in
A winged company of doves, for in
The house of Phoebus they dwell unafraid.
And when the men poured out the honey wine
The thirsty birds dipped into it their beaks
And drew it down within their feathered throats.
The god's libation did not harm the rest;
But one sat where the boy poured out his cup
And tasted of the drink. Then all at once
Its feathered body shook, it staggered round
And uttered a shrill cry of sad lament
Which none could understand. And every man
Among that company of banqueters
Was filled with wonder at the bird's distress.

And then it gasped and died, the claws upon
Its crimson legs relaxing. But the boy
Whose birth was by the oracle revealed
With limbs stripped of his garments cast himself
Across the table and shouted aloud:
"What man intended thus to take my life?
Speak up, old man, for thou wast busy here
And from thy hand did I receive the drink."
He seized his aged arm and questioned him
That he might catch him in the very act.
He, scrutinized, by force at length revealed
The story of Creusa's daring deed
And the contrivance of the drinking-cup.
Straightway the youth made known by Loxias
Together with the banqueters rushed out,
And standing up among the Pythian lords
He said, "Oh, holy Gaea, by Erechtheus' child,
The foreign woman, has my life been sought
By means of poison." And the Delphian
Authorities by a decisive vote
Decreed that my poor mistress here should be
Struck down by stones and so be slain since she
Had sought to kill one sacred to the god,
Attempting murder in his holy shrine.
And all the city here is seeking her,
While she is hastening on her wretched way.
She came to question Phoebus and she's lost
The children that she longed for and her life.

The chorus now sing a short song in which they lament the fate in store for Creusa and express apprehension for themselves. A few moments later Creusa enters in flight and speaks:

Creusa My maidens, I am driven to my death
Condemned by Pythian vote, and I'm betrayed.
Chorus We know, poor lady, how thy fortunes stand.
Creusa Where shall I flee? I've barely saved my life
And come by stealth escaping from my foes.

Chorus Where should'st thou go but to the altar's side?
Creusa But what advantage will that be to me?
Chorus It is not right to slay a suppliant.
Creusa That may be true, but I die by the law.
Chorus Yes, when they catch thee.

[Ion and his followers are seen approaching.]

Creusa Here come hastening on
My bitter foes with drawn swords in their hands.
Chorus Now sit close to the altar; dying there
Thou'lt place the curse of suppliant blood upon
Thy slayers; but thy fortune thou must bear.

[Ion now enters followed by a crowd of armed men. He speaks.]

Ion Oh, lord Cephisus with a bull's fierce eye,
What viper or what dragon with a gaze
Of deadly flame hast thou engendered now?
In her is utter boldness; she's as bad
As are those poisonous drops of Gorgon's blood
With which she was about to take my life.
Now seize upon her, that Parnassus' cliffs,
From which she will be hurled in rocky leap,
May tear in shreds her unstained locks of hair.
A happy fortune did I chance upon
Before I went to Athens and before
I fell beneath a cruel stepdame's hand.
For in the midst of friends I proved thy mind,
How great a bane, how ill-disposed thou wast.
Hadst thou encountered me within thy home,
Thou wouldst have sent me quickly to my doom.
But neither altar nor Apollo's house
Shall save thee; for compassion for myself
Is stronger, aye, and for my mother, too.
For though she is not here in her own form,
Her name is never absent from my thoughts.

[He approaches the altar where Creusa is crouching.]

Behold the wicked woman, how she makes
One plot upon another; how she cowers
At the god's altar that she may not pay
The penalty for all her wicked deeds.

Creusa Both in my own, and in the god's behalf
I do forbid that thou shouldst slay me here.

Ion What canst thou have in common with the god?

Creusa I dedicate myself to him to keep.

Ion And tried to kill his servant with thy drugs.

Creusa Thou wast thy father's, not Apollo's, then.

Ion I was by birth; I speak of ownership.

Creusa Thou wast his then; now I'm the god's, not thou.

Ion Thou art not holy, I was holy then.

Creusa I sought to kill thee hostile to my house.

Ion I did not march against thy land with arms.

Creusa Thou might'st as well, and burnt Erechtheus' home.

Ion What kind of torches should I use? What fire?

Creusa (1295) Thou wast about to take my house by force.

Ion (1300) Then, didst thou seek to slay me out of fear?

Creusa (1301) That I might live if thou didst not succeed.

Ion (1302) Thou hast the malice of a childless wife.

Creusa (1303) Wouldst thou deprive the childless of their homes?

Ion (1296) My father merely gave me land he owned.

Creusa (1297) A son of Aeolus own Pallas' home?

Ion (1298) He rescued it by weapons, not by words.

Creusa (1299) A true ally should not stay in a land.

Ion (1304) Must I have no part in my father's house?

Creusa Not full possession; only shield and spear.

Ion Come, leave the altar and the god's abode.

Creusa Warn thy own mother, wheresoe'er she be.

Ion Shalt thou not pay for plotting 'gainst my life?

Creusa If thou dost wish to slay me in the shrine.

Ion What pleasure dost thou find in dying there?

Creusa I shall cause pain for pains that I have borne

Ion Alas!
It is a pity that the god has made
His laws for mortals with so little thought.
He should not let the guilty sit secure
Beside the altar, but should drive them forth.
It is not right for sacrilegious hand
To touch the gods; but rather should the just
Sit in the temples when they have been wronged.
The righteous and the wicked should not have
The same consideration from the gods.

The aged priestess of Apollo now enters from the temple bearing in her hands a basket partly covered. She is greeted with affection by Ion, who had always looked upon her as a mother. She puts the basket into his hands telling him that in it she had found him when he was a little baby, that it still contains his baby clothes and the trinkets left with him. Now that Apollo has revealed his father to him she feels that the time has come for him to have these things, and she hopes that by means of them he may be able to learn the identity of his mother. After making this explanation she returns into the temple leaving Ion holding the basket in his arms. Ion speaks:

Ion Alas! Alas! the tears fall from my eyes
When I think of that time my mother dear
A bride in secret smuggled me away,
Her infant babe, and gave me not her breast.
But nameless in Apollo's halls I had
A servant's life. The god's intent was good,
My fortune heavy, for the time that I
Should have been fondled in my mother's arms
And had some joy in life I lost that care,
Unhappy wretch, and she unhappy, too.
She has the same affliction as her son.
She's lost the joy she should have had from him.
But now I'll bear this basket to the god,
An offering to discover—nothing base,

For if my mother chance to be a slave
It's worse to find her than leave her unknown.

[He approaches the door-way of the temple holding the basket]

Oh, Phoebus, I present this to thy shrine.
And yet, what am I doing? By this act
I'm warring with the purpose of the god
Who saved for me my mother's tokens here.
Come, I must open this, and must be bold,
For what is fated I cannot change now.

[He removes the ribbons with which the basket is tied and as he does so says:]

Oh, sacred fillets! what have ye concealed?
Oh, bands, that have my precious things preserved!
Behold the cover of this cradle round.
It has not aged by some divine device;
No mildew rests upon the wicker strands,
Though many years these treasures have been kept.

Creusa, who has been watching the scene from the altar, is astonished to see the very basket in which she had abandoned her baby years before. She speaks:

Creusa — What vision of unhoped for things I see!
Ion — Be silent, for thou knewest how before.
Creusa — I'll not keep silent. Do not caution me.
I see the basket where I once exposed
Thee, oh, my child! when thou wast still a babe,
In Cecrops' cave and by the lofty cliffs.
I'll leave this altar even though I die.
Ion — Here, seize her! In her madness she's leaped up
And left the altar's image. Bind her arms!

[The men who accompany him seize Creusa.]

Creusa With death ye will not stay me, since I'll cling
To this and thee and to what it conceals.
Ion A clever trick. I am despoiled by words!
Creusa No; to thy dear ones thou art precious found.
Ion I dear to thee who sought my death by stealth?
Creusa Yes; child—the dearest thing that parents have.
Ion Cease weaving falsehoods; I shall prove thee false.
Creusa Let me but have the test; that is my aim.
Ion Well, is this basket empty now or full?
Creusa It holds the things with which thou wast exposed.
Ion And wilt thou name them without seeing them?
Creusa If I do not, then I consent to die.
Ion Speak out, then, for thy boldness startles me.
Creusa Look, there's a cloth I wove when still a girl.
Ion What kind? For maidens many patterns weave.
Creusa 'Twas incomplete, a sample from my loom.
Ion What was it like? Thou shalt not catch me here.
Creusa There was a Gorgon woven in the warp.
Ion (aside) Oh, Zeus! what fate is this that tracks me out?
Creusa And it was edged with serpents, aegis like.

[Ion holds it up]

Ion See, here it is; I'm finding what's decreed.
Creusa Oh, ancient product of my maiden loom!
Ion Besides this weaving is there something else?
Or art thou lucky in this thing alone?
Creusa Aye, snakes with golden fangs, an old device,
Athena's gift, who bids us children rear,
A likeness of old Erichthonius.
Ion What is its purpose, what its use, speak out.
Creusa A necklace for the new-born babe to wear.
Ion It's here; but now a third thing I must learn.
Creusa A crown of olive at that time I placed
About thee, olive which Athena first
Brought to the rock. Now if it still exists
It has not lost its greenness, but still thrives
Since it came from a tree which knows no age.

[Ion, convinced, drops the basket and embraces Creusa.]

Ion — Oh, dearest mother! I see thee with joy
And fall upon thy joyous, happy cheeks.
Creusa — Oh, child! to mother dearer than the sun—
The god will pardon me these words—I hold
Thee in my arms, a never hoped-for find.
I thought thee with the dead beneath the earth
And dwelling with the queen Persephone.
Ion — But, oh! dear mother, I am in thy arms
A phantom, dead and yet not dead am I.

At this point Creusa is wholly unable to restrain her emotions and she bursts into song. Ion, too, is deeply moved, and the passage which follows was sung. In the course of it Creusa reveals to Ion that Apollo was his father. The scene is brought to an end by the appearance of Athena who explains that there are great honors in store for Ion who will succeed to the throne and become the founder of the Ionian race. He will have four sons whose descendants will form the four tribal divisions which, in historic times, existed in all Ionic cities. The poet in this way gives them all a divine ancestor. The seeming wrong of the god was not a wrong, but a means of bringing great honor to the house of Erechtheus. The play concludes with the exhortation of the chorus to have confidence in the gods, for even though misfortunes surround him, in the end the good man is sure to succeed and the bad to fail.

Such is the *Ion*—not a tragedy in the strict sense of the word, but an interesting drama nevertheless. There can be no question that it was rightly named. Ion is the outstanding figure, and the poet has depicted him as an open-hearted, impetuous boy, willingly performing the tasks in the temple to which he has been brought up. He is not at all ready to believe Xuthus when he claims him as a son, but acquiesces when the oracle is brought forward in support of the claim. But even when he is convinced, he would much prefer to remain quietly at Delphi

than go to Athens and encounter the envy and hatred which he knows are sure to await him there. When the attempt is made upon his life he is eager to seek out and punish the guilty person. His longing for a mother whom he has never known is natural, as is his happiness in finding her. The character is well drawn, and Euripides evidently took pleasure in depicting it.

Creusa is the next most important person in the play, and she, too, is well represented. Her curiosity to learn the fate of her child is natural, as is her resentment against Apollo when she hears that he has given Xuthus a son. Her insane jealousy resulting in the attempted murder of the boy is what one might expect; and her wild burst of joy at finding that he is in reality her own baby abandoned so long ago is in keeping with her character. The part of Creusa, too, is true to nature.

The lesser characters call for little comment. Xuthus is the burly, unimaginative soldier who has won his high position by his sword. More interesting is the faithful old slave of Creusa, who is so deeply devoted to the welfare of his mistress that he is even willing to commit murder for her sake. Examples of such fidelity are not without parallel in real life.

The date of the *Ion* is not known. Many years ago Enthoven[1] placed it in 412 B.C. on the ground of the resolutions in the verse and the reference to the grotto of Pan in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, but this does not seem satisfactory. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf thinks 421 more probable, and this date is generally accepted. If he is correct the *Ion* is one of the earliest plays of Euripides written to interest and amuse, and with a happy ending.

Of the other great Greek dramatists Aeschylus did not use the Ion story, but Sophocles did. The names of an *Ion* and a *Creusa* by him are preserved, but the extant fragments are not sufficiently numerous or specific to enable us to decide how the subject was treated, or, in fact, whether the two names may not

[1] *De Ione fabula Euripidea*, Bonn, 1880.

refer to the same play.[1] The myth is discussed at some length by Ermatinger in his *Attische Autochthonsage*, pp. 112–142.

The fact that Ion is represented as a son of Apollo may seem to the modern reader to demand too much of the imagination, but it needs no justification as far as the play is concerned. The poet is wholly within his rights in adopting for his plot and developing it any story which would interest his audience. At the same time the idea would not seem altogether preposterous to an ancient audience. Thus Plutarch[2] tells the story that the Spartan general Lysander claimed to be a son of Apollo, and that he was almost recognized as such by the priests at Delphi. Euripides is, therefore, not making too great demands upon the credulity of his audience.

The play does not seem to have been imitated in modern times, but Racine is said to have got suggestions from it for his *Athalie*.

XII

The Iphigenia among the Taurians

The *Iphigenia among the Taurians* is the most delightful of the plays of Euripides which have come down to modern times. It is not strictly speaking a tragedy, though it is commonly so classed, for it ends happily; but it does have tragic scenes in it. Like the *Ion* it belongs to that special form of dramatic composition in which the hero has various adventures, more or less tragic, but in the end everything comes to a happy issue. It was written to interest the spectators rather than to move them deeply like the *Medea*; but in spite of that fact it does make an appeal to the emotions. The exact date of its production is not known. It was probably about the year 414 B.C.[3]

The scene is laid in the land of the semi-barbarous Taurians, who lived in what is now known as the Crimea. In the back-

[1] See Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, Vol. II, pp. 23 ff.
[2] *Lysander*, chs. XXIX–XXXI.
[3] *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 32, pp. cxxii ff.

ground lies the temple of Artemis before which the action of the play takes place. The poet has in mind a Doric temple, but with human skulls placed along the floor of the pediments thus indicating the savage nature of the inhabitants and their cruel ritual. The seashore is visible to one side in the distance. The country round about is wild and rugged. Iphigenia enters from the temple and speaks the prologue. She explains that she is the eldest daughter of king Agamemnon; that once, many years before, her father had vowed to sacrifice to the goddess Artemis the fairest thing born on his estates that year. It happened to be the year in which she herself was born, but nobody thought of connecting that event with the vow. Then, years later, came the Trojan war and the Greek fleet could not move from Aulis. The seer Calchas was consulted and he declared that Agamemnon had not carried out his pledge to the goddess and that the fleet could not sail until he had sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia. She was then summoned from her home in Argos on the pretense that she was to be married to Achilles. She came as her father ordered, but when he was in the very act of performing the sacrifice the goddess Artemis secretly intervened putting in her place a deer and transporting Iphigenia to the land of the Taurians where she made her her priestess. Agamemnon knew nothing of this substitution and supposed that his child was dead. All this is told by Iphigenia in the prologue; but she also explains why she has come from the temple. She has had a dreadful dream which haunts her mind. She seemed to be asleep in her home in Greece when suddenly an earthquake overthrew the house and she ran out. Then, as she looked back, she saw just one column of the house standing, and this seemed to take on human speech, and human hair seemed to spring from its top. Then she performed over it the rite which she, as priestess, was in the habit of performing over the human victims brought to her for sprinkling before their sacrifice. This dream has affected her deeply, for she interprets it to mean that at some time her brother Orestes,

the only pillar of her father's house, had been brought before her and unrecognized by her had been sacrificed to the goddess. The dream has made such an impression upon her that she has come forth to tell it to the air to try to secure some relief. She is so firmly convinced of the correctness of her interpretation that she decides that in company with her attendant maidens, that is the chorus, she will pour a libation to the spirit of her departed brother. She returns into the temple to summon her attendants.

While she is gone Orestes and Pylades enter. Orestes has been afflicted with fits of madness ever since he had performed that terrible deed of justice, slaying his mother in revenge for his father's murder. The oracle at Delphi had told him that if he went to the land of the Taurians and brought away the sacred image of Artemis which was in the temple there, he would be freed from his madness. So he has come with his friend Pylades to spy out the temple. They have left their ship carefully hidden along the shore. They enter stealthily, Orestes first, and after examining the temple withdraw, intending to return at night and try to get possession of the statue.

Iphigenia and her attendants enter to perform the solemn ceremony of pouring the libation. They sing of the vanished glories of the house of Agamemnon, and Iphigenia of her unhappy fate. As the ceremony comes to an end a herdsman enters in great excitement. Two Greeks have been captured and the king has ordered them sent to the temple for sacrifice. The messenger's account of their capture is a vivid bit of narrative writing. The chorus sing a song, the purport of which is the wonder whence the strangers have come and how they got there, and they end with a wish that they might have some news from home. The prisoners are then brought before Iphigenia, who, embittered by the misfortune which she is convinced has befallen her brother, is determined to show them no mercy. She questions them, but Orestes refuses to give his name, though at length, rather reluctantly, he tells her that he

comes from Mycenae. The mention of her own home by the unknown prisoner leads her to ask him many questions about her family and friends and the heroes of the Trojan war. She has long had in mind a plan to send back word to her relatives at the first opportunity letting them know that she is still alive, and now she sees that that opportunity has come. She goes into the temple and brings back a letter written for her by some former prisoner and promises to save Orestes if he will take it to Argos for her. Orestes refuses to go if his friend Pylades cannot go too, but as that is impossible it is at length agreed that Pylades shall carry the letter and the unrecognized Orestes remain to be sacrificed. Pylades is made to take an oath that he will deliver the letter, but he asks that if an accident should happen and he lose the letter the oath may no longer be binding upon him. To forestall such a contingency Iphigenia repeats orally the contents of the letter and tells him to deliver it to her brother Orestes. At the mention of his own name Orestes cries out and starts forward, but is checked by Iphigenia. At the conclusion of the letter Pylades takes the folded sheets (Fig. 2) and hands them to Orestes, who throws his arms about Iphigenia. But she is not at all ready to believe that the unknown captive is her brother. She thinks it is all a clever trick so that both prisoners may escape. Orestes, however, tells her of things in their home which only a member of the family would know and so establishes his identity. Iphigenia is overcome by her emotions and a lyric passage follows in which the parts of the brother and sister are sung. Orestes then tells his story and explains why he has come to the land of the Taurians. They now plan to escape. Iphigenia will pretend that the two victims are polluted, and that they must be purified in the sea before they can be sacrificed to the goddess. The members of the chorus who hear the plan promise to keep it secret. A choral song follows. Then King Thoas enters. He has come to see if the strangers have been duly sacrificed. His visit comes at an inopportune time, for as he arrives Iphigenia steps from the

temple holding in her arms the statue of the goddess. She is, however, ready for the emergency and compels the king to cover his head while the prisoners are brought from the temple, accompanied by sheep and various sacred objects to be used in effecting their purification. The king sends some of his men to accompany them, and the procession, with Iphigenia in the rear holding in her arms the image of the goddess, passes off the

FIGURE 2.— IPHIGENIA GIVES PYLADES THE LETTER. FROM AN APULIAN AMPHORA

stage. The king remains behind to purify the temple. The chorus sing of the infant Apollo and how he became master of Delphi as a sort of transition to the next scene. Then a soldier brim full of news enters in great haste. The chorus try to send him away, but he is suspicious and beats upon the temple door until the king comes out. Then he tells a remarkable tale. When the company had nearly reached the sea Iphigenia

dismissed her escort and went on alone with the prisoners. From time to time her incantations were heard in the distance, but finally the guards began to be afraid for her and went down to the shore. There they found the ship of Orestes ready to put to sea. The soldiers rushed down and seized Iphigenia and a lively fight followed, but the soldiers were not numerous enough and were driven back while Iphigenia, Orestes and Pylades got safely aboard. The sailors pulled away from the land, but it was not easy to get into open water and the heavy sea and wind were forcing the boat back when the messenger left. Thoas is at once ready for action, calling upon his people to ride along the shore and to man their boats. At that moment the goddess Athena appears above the roof of the temple and forbids the pursuit. She explains that Orestes had come there by the command of Apollo and that Poseidon had calmed the sea and was now aiding the brother and sister on their homeward voyage. Thoas acquiesces, for the will of the gods must be obeyed; and he further agrees to send the Greek maidens (the chorus) back to their homes in Greece. Then with a few words Athena speeds Orestes on his way, and the play comes to an end as the chorus prepare to follow the commands of the goddess.

The *Iphigenia among the Taurians* was much admired in antiquity. Aristotle mentions it no less than five times in his *Poetics* and with approval. In fact it is hard to see how the play could fail to interest anybody. It is simple in structure, has an excellent plot which moves steadily forward, and the characters are all well drawn. There is no attempt at subtle psychological analysis. It is not that kind of play. Iphigenia performing a disagreeable duty laid upon her by no wish of her own, is the warm-hearted, loving sister willing to give her life if need be to save her brother. Her home and her family are the things dearest to her heart, even though she has been through such a frightful experience at her father's hands.

Orestes throughout the play is a figure to be pitied for his mis-

fortunes rather than hated for his dreadful crime. He is gloomy, naturally as a result of the tragic events through which he has passed and the misfortunes which have followed him; and early in the play he is distressed at the apparent trickery of Apollo. But we admire his steadfastness of purpose and his loyalty to his friend Pylades. He acts as we should expect the son of a great king to act. Orestes is not always so favorably represented on the Greek stage. In fact the Orestes of the *Iphigenia* is a very different character from the Orestes in the play which bears his name, to take only one example.

An interesting feature is the way in which Euripides introduces the Furies. An essential part of the Orestes story was his pursuit by the "Nameless Goddesses" who were determined to punish him for his mother's murder. In the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus the Furies actually appear on the stage following close on the track of Orestes. They are terrible female figures with snakes in their hair. In the *Iphigenia*, however, there are no such creatures. Euripides regards them merely as the hallucinations of a disordered brain. Orestes while sitting on the cliff before his capture by the herdsmen suddenly imagines that he sees these frightful beings, which have no existence except in his own mind. In this way the poet complies with the traditional story without bringing in an element which towards the end of the fifth century B.C. would seem absurd.

The other characters call for little comment. Pylades is on the stage as long as Orestes but he has little to say. His part is a difficult one for an actor. Thoas is the typical barbarian king as the Greeks imagined him with power of life and death over his subjects. The herdsman and the soldier who enter as messengers are both admirable and true to nature, and contribute materially to the interest of the spectators in the action. Athena is dignified in her language and spectacular in her appearance. This introduction of the goddess at the end of the play has been criticized, but unjustly. Had the poet wished to do so he might easily have brought his plot to an end without any *deus ex*

machina. But Euripides saw clearly the striking effect which the appearance of the goddess with her shining armor above the temple would produce, and this alone is justification for the introduction of the supernatural element. As a practical playwright Euripides had a keen eye for the dramatic and the spectacular.

The usual version of the Iphigenia myth was that she was actually slain at Aulis by Agamemnon. This is the story used by Euripides in his *Iphigenia at Aulis.* But as early as the time of the epic poem called the *Cypria* there was a variant according to which she was not sacrificed, but rescued by the goddess Artemis at the very moment her father was about to thrust the knife into her. Furthermore Herodotus[1] relates that the savage Taurians were in the habit of sacrificing shipwrecked sailors to a goddess whom they called Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon. It was doubtless from this passage in Herodotus that Euripides got the suggestion for his plot; but the bringing of Orestes to the temple to be sacrificed by his own sister was a brilliant idea of Euripides. The dramatic situation thus brought about made a popular appeal, and after the time of Euripides the translation of Iphigenia to the land of the Taurians and her rescue of Orestes there became a regular part of the story.

The Iphigenia myth served as a plot for many plays in antiquity. Thus both Aeschylus and Sophocles wrote *Iphigenias,* but they followed the familiar version of the sacrifice at Aulis as did other dramatists. One poet, the sophist Polyidus, wrote an *Iphigenia* which was famous for its recognition scene. The action took place in Tauris where the captured Orestes, brought before Iphigenia for sacrifice, cried out that he was about to die as his sister Iphigenia had died, and so was recognized.[2]

The Latin poets Ennius and Naevius both wrote *Iphigenias.* That of Ennius seems to have followed the Taurian story; but not enough of the *Iphigenia* of Naevius remains to determine its character.

[1] IV, 103.

[2] Aristotle, *Poetics,* p. 1455a, 6.

There have been many modern *Iphigenias*, the most famous of which are Gluck's opera, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, and Goethe's *Iphigenia auf Tauris*. Goethe's play has been much admired for its beautiful poetry, but there could hardly be a greater contrast between two plays than that between his play and the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* of Euripides. The latter is full of action; the former has almost no action and its spirit is German rather than Greek.

XIII

The Iphigenia at Aulis

It is an interesting fact that Euripides, after having handled the Iphigenia myth with such brilliant success in the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and introduced into it new elements which afterwards became permanent parts of the legend, should have decided at the end of his career to write a companion piece following the old familiar version of the story. Yet that is what he did. At the time of his death he was at work upon the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, a play constructed along the conventional lines. Perhaps he wished to leave behind him an *Iphigenia* which would be compared with the *Iphigenias* of Aeschylus and Sophocles, just as his *Electra* is compared with the *Electra* of Sophocles and the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus. It was almost, but not quite, finished when he died and the younger Euripides revised and completed it and brought it out, probably in the year 405 B.C. There are manifest signs of this reworking, especially at the beginning and the end. At the very start it seems necessary to transpose a block of lines, that is to begin with lines 49–114, and to have lines 1–48 as they are found in the manuscripts follow them. This arrangement will make the play begin with a typical Euripidean prologue. With this transposition the plot is as follows.

The scene is laid in the Greek camp on the shore at Aulis. In the foreground is the hut[1] of Agamemnon in front of which

[1] It is referred to as σκηνή in line 12, but is evidently not a tent but a more substantial building, cp. lines 1, 440 and 863.

the action takes place. The huts of the other Greeks are further back, and in the distance are seen the Greek ships drawn up along the shore. Agamemnon speaks the prologue and tells how Tyndareus permitted his daughter Helen to marry the man whom she wished, after all her suitors had sworn to protect her. But Paris had come and carried her off, and now the expedition which had set out for Troy to rescue her was held fast at Aulis. The seer Calchas had declared that it could not go on until Iphigenia, the daughter of the commander, had been sacrificed to Artemis, and he, Agamemnon, influenced by Menelaus, had sent a letter home asking that she be brought to Aulis. He gave as a pretext that the fleet could not sail until Iphigenia had been married to Achilles. He had, however, repented of what he had done and is now about to send a second letter by a faithful old slave recalling the first. It is not yet daybreak and Agamemnon calls the old slave and bids him take the letter to Clytaemnestra urging her to detain Iphigenia. The slave departs with the letter.

The chorus enter. They consist of Greek women from Chalcis who have come over to Aulis on the mainland to see the sights in the Greek camp. This choral song is clearly Euripidean, but it may well have been worked over by his son or by someone else.

In the next scene the old slave enters following Menelaus who has robbed him of the letter. He is trying to recover it. Menelaus threatens him and opens the letter. The slave calls for Agamemnon who enters from his hut. Menelaus boldly declares that he has opened the letter and bitterly reproaches his brother for trying to send it. Agamemnon defends himself. The greater part of this scene is in the trochaic tetrameter verse (lines 317 to 401), a rather long passage for that metre in Euripides, though it is used again later on in the play (lines 855 to 916). While the two brothers are still wrangling a messenger enters with the news that Iphigenia with her mother and her little brother Orestes is near at hand. They have all halted to

refresh themselves at a flowing spring. He urges the brothers to make ready for the wedding. Agamemnon is overcome with grief, and Menelaus cunningly pretends to urge him to forget the Greek fleet and to save his daughter. But Agamemnon knows that the army will not permit any such thing and he determines to perform the sacrifice; but he hopes to effect it before Clytaemnestra finds out about it. The chorus then sing of the fortunes, good and bad, which may come from love. Clytaemnestra and Iphigenia enter apparently accompanied by a band of servitors who announce their entrance (lines 590–597). These men form a secondary chorus, like the chorus of huntsmen in the *Hippolytus*. The ladies descend from the carriages and the sleepy little Orestes is waked up and bundled out. Iphigenia runs to greet her father while he cannot keep back the tears. He speaks in riddles which Iphigenia cannot understand. Agamemnon embraces her and sends her into the hut. Iphigenia's girlishness and her love for her father are strikingly brought out in this passage. Clytaemnestra has various questions to ask about the family of Achilles and about the date of the wedding, and various other details. Agamemnon answers cryptically and urges her to go back to Argos. She naturally refuses to do so and enters the hut. The chorus sing of the fleet about to sail for Troy and the fate in store for the Trojans.

Achilles now enters. He has come to the general's hut to complain about the delay. His men are impatient. Clytaemnestra hears him and comes from the hut. She had not met Achilles before and so she introduces herself and speaks of his coming marriage with her daughter. Achilles knows nothing of such a marriage and Clytaemnestra much mortified starts to retire. At this moment the old slave calls to them from the house and then enters and tells them the true state of affairs, that Agamemnon, compelled by the army, is going to slay Iphigenia as a sacrifice to the goddess Artemis. The pretended marriage was a trick to bring her to Aulis. He also tells them of the second letter which Agamemnon had tried to send urging

her to keep Iphigenia at home and how he, the messenger, had been robbed of it by Menelaus. Clytaemnestra begs Achilles to save her daughter and he swears that he will do so, but first he asks her to beg her life from Agamemnon. The chorus now sing of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Clytaemnestra then returns. She is looking for her husband and he, entering at about the same time, asks that Iphigenia be summoned. She comes from the house in tears holding the little boy Orestes by the hand. She has learned of the fate in store for her. Agamemnon pretends that he does not understand her tears, but Clytaemnestra asks him point blank if he means to kill her. He would gladly deny it, but finds it impossible to do so. Clytaemnestra then bitterly assails him reminding him of how he had slain her former husband and her child and how in spite of that she had been an obedient wife to him.

Iphigenia now addresses her father while the little Orestes clings to her hand, and makes a pathetic plea for her life. The little boy, too, pleads for her though he does not speak. Agamemnon explains that he is compelled by the army to make the sacrifice against his will. It is the only way in which the expedition can be made possible. Iphigenia bewails her fate in a long lyric passage in which she recalls how Paris exposed as an infant on the mountains had been brought up by a herdsman to become the cause of her misfortunes. A body of men is seen approaching. Achilles enters and addresses Clytaemnestra. He tells her that he has been stoned for speaking in favor of Iphigenia, but that he will fight to defend her. Iphigenia, who has been listening, now changes her attitude. She will not let Achilles risk his life for her even though he protests that he wishes to carry out the pretended marriage. She has become convinced that it is her duty to offer up her life in order to make the expedition a success and to save the Greeks. She bids farewell to her weeping mother and bravely goes to her death (Fig. 3). A messenger now enters and tells what happened; that the troops were standing with their eyes turned towards

the ground as the sacrifice was about to be performed and that when they looked up a deer was found slaughtered at the altar. Agamemnon enters and tells Clytaemnestra of the honor which has come to them through Iphigenia and to urge her to take Orestes home. The chorus then bid him farewell and express the hope for a successful return from Troy.

It is very clear that the *Iphigenia at Aulis* as we now have it is not a finished tragedy of Euripides. The tradition that it was left uncompleted at his death, and finished and put on the

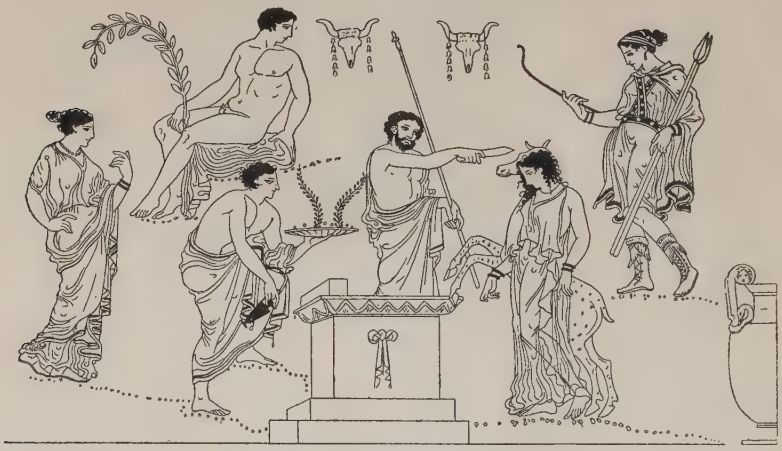

FIGURE 3.—THE SACRIFICE OF IPHIGENIA. FROM AN APULIAN AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

stage by the younger Euripides,[1] is amply borne out by reading the text. As has been pointed out the chief evidences of rewriting come at the beginning and at the end. In the manuscripts the play begins with forty-eight anapaestic lines which are followed by what is manifestly a prologue in iambic trimeters in the usual Euripidean manner extending to line 114. Then follows another anapaestic passage extending to line 163. It is

[1] Schol. to Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 67. οὕτω καὶ αἱ διδασκαλίαι φέρουσι τελευτήσαντος Εὐριπίδου τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δεδιδαχέναι ὁμωνύμως ἐν ἄστει Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι, Ἀλκμέωνα, Βάκχας.

very certain that Euripides did not begin the play in this way. It has been suggested that he wrote two prologues, one in anapaestic verse and one in iambic trimeters intending to use one or the other, and that when the younger Euripides prepared the play for the stage he combined the two. Another suggestion is that certain lines have got transposed. Thus Hartung[1] argued that lines 49–114 should come first, that these should be followed by lines 1–48, which in turn should be followed by the second anapaestic passage, lines 115–163. This arrangement has been generally accepted by the editors, though Weil and a few others prefer the manuscript order. This transposition, however, is far from settling all the difficulties. One cannot pass from line 114 to line 1 without supplying something; and again a break must be imagined between lines 48 and 115. The placing of lines 115 and 116 after line 117 does not cure the trouble. Again, quite apart from these transpositions the text shows signs of rewriting.[2] The lyric passage, lines 231–302, is usually regarded as spurious, but it is more likely that here, too, there has been a certain amount of reworking and interpolation.

The end of the play has likewise been seriously questioned. Thus Kirchhoff many years ago bracketed everything from line 1509 on, and he was followed by other editors including Prinz and Wecklein in their great critical edition, and by England. Hermann bracketed everything from line 1532 to the end; Nauck from line 1540; and Murray from line 1578, to mention only a few names. Here again it is clear that Euripides did not leave the play as we now have it; but the lack of agreement among the editors is sufficient proof of the difficulty in determining exactly where the genuine text of Euripides leaves off. One objection which has been raised to the ending as we now have it is the substitution of the doe for Iphigenia when the sacrifice is made. This incident, found in the *Cypria*, belongs

[1] *Opuscula*, VIII, pp. 218 ff.

[2] For a good discussion of the prologue see Bang, *De auctore Iphigeniae Aulidensis*, pp. 32 ff.

to the story of *Iphigenia in Tauris* rather than to that of *Iphigenia at Aulis*, where the sacrifice of the maiden by her father is the most important incident. In fact, according to the usual story it was this sacrifice which embittered Clytaemnestra against Agamemnon and was her chief excuse for killing him. This is brought out, for example, in the *Electra*, lines 1018 ff. and is hinted at in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, line 1455. A passage quoted by Aelian[1] as coming from the "*Iphigenia*" of Euripides has been supposed to be part of the true ending, but the incident of the doe occurs in it also. The same objection may thus be raised against it as against the ending as we now have it. It is quite likely, however, that Aelian is quoting from memory and the lines may come from an *Iphigenia* by some other author. A quotation by Hesychius[2] and a reference in a scholium to the *Frogs* of Aristophanes 1309 ff. also give difficulty; and particularly a quotation of lines 548–551 by Athenaeus, who speaks of them as the work of Chaeremon. Here again the writer may be quoting from memory.

But in spite of the evident reworking of the text in places the greater part of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* is clearly the work of Euripides. If the play had been put into its final form by him it would have ranked among the best of his tragedies. As it is there is much in it to admire. It has plenty of action and is full of pathos. French critics especially have been impressed by it. Thus M. Patin[3] calls it "l'un des chef-d'oeuvres de la scène grècque, la pièce la plus parfaite de son auteur" and speaks of its finished beauty; and M. Croiset[4] says of it, "Sauf le miracle, tout est pris dans la nature, et jamais Euripide ne l'a mieux interprétée." The character of Iphigenia is finely drawn and commands our admiration. When she first enters we see her pride in her coming marriage. She is going to be

[1] *Hist. Anim.* VII, 39.

[2] He quotes the word ἄθρανστα as coming from the *Iphigenia at Aulis* though it is not found in the extant text.

[3] *Euripide*, I, p. 1.

[4] *Histoire de la lit. gr.* III, p. 302.

wedded to one of the great princes of Greece. Her devotion to her father, whom she cannot believe capable of doing any wrong, is touching. As soon as she sees him she wishes to run and throw her arms about him (line 631). Later on, when she knows that her life is at stake, it is natural that she should weep and beg her father to spare her. So, too, when she fully realizes what her death will mean to her father and to her country, it is equally natural for her to adopt the high resolve to die as the daughter of a great king should die, a voluntary sacrifice. Aristotle[1] objected to this change in character on the part of Iphigenia from timidity to self-confidence, but it is just what might be expected. The noble character of the young girl stands the test when the crisis comes. In this respect the death of Iphigenia is not unlike that of Macaria in the *Heraclidae*, or of Polyxena in the *Hecuba*. We pity her and we admire her.

Clytaemnestra is the proud and haughty queen she is usually represented. One of her first acts on meeting her husband at Aulis is to question him about the family of the man whom her daughter is going to marry. Later, when she learns of the fate in store for Iphigenia she is not slow in charging Agamemnon with duplicity and bitterly reproaching him with his conduct. When she reminds him that he had married her by force after slaying her former husband and her child, we have an innovation. The poet is introducing another motive for her hatred of Agamemnon, one not known to Homer. She assails his contemptible weakness in consenting to kill his daughter; but she is a woman and her grief at parting with Iphigenia is genuine.

The other characters in the play do not call for any particular notice. Agamemnon is a weak creature. He loves his daughter, but is willing to deceive her and commit a great crime because of his fear of the army.

Menelaus is the villain of the play. He is a Spartan and has nothing admirable about him. He is merely contemptible. Achilles has noble sentiments and his determination to protect

[1] *Poetics*, p. 1454a, 32.

Iphigenia even at the cost of his life is worthy of his traditional character; but when Iphigenia resolves to go to her death he rather weakly acquiesces in her decision. The speech of the messenger at the end of the play is good.

In spite of its unfinished condition the *Iphigenia at Aulis* has always been admired. Its pathos makes an especial appeal to the reader. The version of the story which the poet has used is, as already noted, the older one employed by both of his famous colleagues. Aeschylus wrote a trilogy upon it. One of the plays, the *Thalamopoioi*, evidently had to do with the pretended marriage of Achilles and Iphigenia. The others were the *Iphigenia* and the *Priestesses*, but unfortunately very little is known about them.

Not much is known about the *Iphigenia* of Sophocles, although Odysseus seems to have had an important part in it. The plot was probably similar to that of the *Iphigenia at Aulis* of Euripides, but followed more closely the version of the story in the *Cypria*.[1] The Latin writers Naevius and Ennius appear to have followed Euripides in their *Iphigenias*.

The *Iphigenia at Aulis* has frequently appeared in modern dress. The most famous imitation is the *Iphigénie* of Racine which was published in 1674. Gluck's opera (1774) also deserves mention. The play was translated by Erasmus in 1524 and by Schiller in 1790.

XIV

The Medea

Critics of the Greek drama are very generally agreed that the *Medea* is the strongest of all the extant plays of Euripides (Plate II). With this opinion I am in hearty accord. In fact I regard it as one of the finest tragedies which Greek genius has given us. It has a good plot, skilfully handled, and the poet has created in it a great tragic character.

[1] See Pearson, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 218 ff.; also Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 156 and Suidas, s. v. Πενθερά.

PLATE II.—SCENES FROM THE MEDEA. FROM AN AMPHORA IN MUNICH

The *Medea* was brought out in the year 431 B.C. as the first play of a tetralogy, the others being the *Philoctetes*, the *Dictys* and the satyr drama *Theristae*, and the whole group was awarded third place. Euphorion, the son of Aeschylus, came first, and Sophocles second, but the names of the plays with which they competed are not recorded.[1]

The scene of the play is laid at Corinth. In the background and to one side is the palace of the king, and to the other side the house where Jason and Medea have been living with their two boys since they came to Corinth. Jason has been so favorably received by the king that now the hand of the princess Creusa has been offered him if he will give up his foreign wife, the fierce Medea, daughter of the king of Colchis. Jason has decided to accept the offer. Such is the situation at the beginning of the action.

Medea's old nurse enters from the house and speaks the prologue. She is talking to herself and laments that the Argonautic expedition ever took place, for it had brought her mistress to Corinth where dishonor now awaits her.[2] Incidentally this prologue is very skilfully managed. It is perfectly natural for the old woman to come out and talk over her troubles, and in this way the poet gives the audience at the very outset all the information that it should have. While she is lamenting her mistress's misfortunes an aged slave, or paidagogos, comes in with Medea's two boys, who have been rolling hoop. A dialogue ensues between the aged servants, interrupted from time to time by cries of Medea from within the house. At length the nurse on the advice of a group of Corinthian women (the chorus), who have heard the cries and come to ask the meaning of them, enters the house. She soon returns with

[1] See Hypothesis. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος ὀλυμπιάδος πζ΄ ἔτει ά. πρῶτος Εὐφορίων, δεύτερος Σοφοκλῆς, τρίτος Εὐριπίδης Μηδείᾳ, Φιλοκτήτῃ, Δίκτυι, Θερισταῖς σατύροις. οὐ σώζεται.

[2] According to Athenaeus (VII, p. 288d) the last two lines of this speech were parodied by Philemon. Part of the translation of it by Ennius still exists, see Ribbeck, *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta*, I, pp. 43 ff.

Medea, who tells of her misfortunes. She has hardly finished her story when Creon, the king, enters and orders her to leave the country at once together with her two children. Medea begs for delay and is at length granted one day in which to make her preparations. Glad as she is to secure this respite she scorns the king for his leniency in granting it, for in this day she determines to have her revenge by killing her husband, his new bride and the king. Just how she is to do it and escape is not clear, but she is sure that she will find a way. Jason now enters and rebukes Medea for her anger and tells her that he really has her interests at heart. In a speech full of indignation and bitterness (lines 465 ff.) she points out his perfidy and shows the falsity of his pretenses. The speech deserves quoting. It runs thus:

> Oh, utter villain! This I say to thee
> My worst reproach upon thy cowardice.
> Hast thou come hither, thou most hateful man
> To me and to the gods and all mankind?
> It is not courage to betray one's friends
> And look them in the face, but worst of all
> Diseases, shamelessness. Thou hast done well
> To come, for I shall tell thee things that hurt
> And thus bring comfort to my heavy heart.
> I shall begin my story at the start;
> I saved thy life, as every Grecian knows
> Who stood with thee upon the Argo's deck,
> When thou wast sent to conquer with the yoke
> The fire-breathing bulls, and sow the field
> Where death was waiting; and that sleepless snake
> Which with its winding coils the Golden Fleece
> Kept safe I slew, and held aloft for thee
> The light of safety. Then, too, I betrayed
> My father and my home and went with thee
> Impulsively, unwisely, now I know,
> Off to Iolcus on Mount Pelion's side
> Where I brought death to aged Pelias

Most painfully, by his own children's hands,
And wrecked his home. All this I did for thee,
Thou basest of mankind; and in return
Thou hast contrived to win another bride
When thou hadst children; for a childless man
Might claim some pardon if he wed again.
But now all confidence in oaths is gone.
I wonder if thou think'st the gods still rule,
Or that new laws are now used by mankind,
Since thou hast broken thy sworn pledge to me.
Right hand, alas! how often wast thou grasped,
And knees, too, all in vain; we were deceived.
But come, I'll treat with thee as with a friend.
Yet what advantage shall I gain from thee?
For when thou'rt questioned thou wilt baser seem.
Now whither shall I turn? To my own home
Which I betrayed, and left my native land?
Or to those wretched girls of Pelias?
A fine reception should I have with them
Whose sire I slew. For this is how things stand;
I have become unfriendly to my friends,
And those who ought to treat me well are foes
Whom I have made by gratifying thee.
And in return for this thou mad'st me blest
Beyond all women in the land of Greece.
A model husband do I have in thee,
And faithful; oh, unhappy that I am!
If I shall be expelled and flee the land
Bereft of friends, with children all alone—
A fine reproach for thy new-wedded bride,
That she who saved thy life should wander forth
With begging children. Oh, almighty Zeus,
Why hast thou given men sure tests for gold
When it is false, but placed no mark upon
Men's bodies to reveal their wickedness?

Jason tries to defend his conduct with several specious arguments which Medea has no difficulty in refuting, and she at length dismisses him with scorn and threats.

After a song by the chorus Aegeus, king of Athens enters. He has been to Delphi to consult the oracle and is now returning home. He has dropped in on his way to confer with Pittheus, king of Troezen, about the oracle which he has received. Medea tells him her troubles and when he offers her a refuge in Athens she persuades him to bind himself by an oath to protect her there. Aegeus departs and Medea left alone has a long soliloquy. She exults in the thought that now that she has a safe place of retreat she will be able to kill her enemies and escape, and she announces her plan. She will pretend that she acquiesces in what Jason is doing, but will beg that her children may be permitted to remain in Corinth. To obtain this she will send them to the princess with valuable gifts smeared with a powerful poison which will destroy her and everybody who touches her; and then she will herself kill her children. After a song by the chorus she proceeds to put her plan into execution. Jason comes at her summons and is addressed by Medea in a long speech in which she conceals her true feelings, and pretends that she is convinced that everything that he is doing is for the best. The stupid and selfish Jason is completely deceived. The whole scene is a masterly piece of dramatic writing. Medea in spite of her iron heart almost breaks down at times. Her long speech (ll. 869 ff.) deserves quoting. I should render it thus:

I ask your pardon, Jason, for my words.
My anger you should bear, for you and I
Have had together many happy times.
I have rebuked myself and spoken thus:
'Why, wretched woman, am I so insane
And hostile to the friends who counsel well?
Have I become the foe of those who rule
This country, and my husband's foe as well,
When he is doing what is best for me
In taking to himself a royal bride,
Creating brothers to my children here?

What is the matter? Shall I not desist
From anger when the gods are helping me?
Have I not children? Do I not know this,
That we are exiles and we have no friends?'
When these things I thought over I perceived
How foolish I had been, and all in vain
I was enraged. So now I praise your deed.
I think that you are wise in wedding thus
And I was senseless when I should have shared
Your plans, and helped you to complete the match.
And then I should have stood beside your bed
And pleased the newly-wedded bride. But I
Am what I am, a woman—nothing bad.
Now you should not do evil deeds like me,
Nor answer foolishly my foolish words.
I ask your pardon; I say I was wrong
Before, but now I've made some better plans.
Oh, children, children, hither, leave the house,
Come out and greet and welcome here with me
Your father, and be reconciled like me,
Abandoning your hostile thoughts towards friends,
For now there's peace; our anger is all changed.
Take hold of his right hand. Ah me! ah me!
I'm thinking of a secret evil deed.
My children, if you live for a long time
Will you stretch forth your darling hands to me?
Oh, wretched that I am! I'm near to tears
And full of terror; for though freed by time
From strife against your father I have filled
The tender vision of my eyes with tears.

The children depart with the poisoned gifts, and after a short choral song, they return accompanied by the old slave who reports that the princess has received the presents and that the children are to be permitted to remain in Corinth. Then follows one of the most remarkable passages in the play. It is a long soliloquy in which Medea is swayed now this way now that. Now her love for her children seems to have triumphed and she

will spare them; now her determination to kill them in order to distress her husband gets the upper hand. Her desire for vengeance proves stronger than her mother love and she determines to kill them. On the stage a good actor could make this speech (ll. 1021 ff.) very effective. It runs thus:

Oh, children, children, you a city have
And home in which you'll always dwell apart
From me, your wretched mother; for I go
An exile to another land before
I've seen you happy and had joy of you,
Delighting in your brides and wedding rites
And holding up for you the marriage torch.
Oh, wretched me, for all my stubbornness!
In vain, my children, have I brought you up;
In vain I suffered and was torn with pains
Bearing those cruel tortures at your birth.
And I had many hopes in you, ah me!
That you would care for me in my old age,
And when I died that you would lay me out
For men to envy; but that happy thought
Is dead, alas! and I, deprived of you,
Shall lead a life of sorrow and of pain.
And you no longer with fond eyes will see
Your mother, passing to another life.
Alas! alas! why do you gaze at me,
My children, with your eyes? Why do you laugh
This last gay laugh? Ah me! what shall I do?
My heart misgives me when I look upon
My children's shining features. I cannot
Do what I purpose. Former plans, begone!
I'll take my children from the land; for why
Should I, in bringing sorrow to their sire
By their misfortunes, bring upon myself
Grief twice as great? That thing I will not do.
Begone, ye schemes! And yet what do I do?
Do I desire to leave my foes unharmed
And then myself incur their ridicule?

I must be bold. Out on my cowardice!
To think that I should have soft words in mind!
Go in, my children, pass into the house.
Now if it is not right for any one
To be here present at my sacrifice
Let him take care. I will not stay my hand.
Oh! Oh!
Do not, bold heart, oh! do not do this deed.
Unhappy, spare your children, let them go,
And living there they'll be a joy to you.
No, by the avengers in the world below,
I will not leave my children for my foes
To wreck their malice on. Their death is sure;
And since they must die I, who gave them birth,
Will slay them. For the deed is surely done,
And there'll be no escape. The royal bride
Has on her head the crown, and in the robe
She's dying. That I know full well. But I
Am going on my most unhappy way,
And these I'll send by one unhappier still.
My boys I wish to talk to. Give to me,
Give to your mother your right hands to kiss.
Oh, dearest hands and dearest lips to me
And noble form and faces of my sons!
May you be happy—in that other world;
Your father has destroyed all pleasure here.
Oh, sweet embrace! oh, dainty flesh and breath
Most sweet of children! But, begone! begone!
I cannot look upon you; I'm o'erwhelmed
With woes, and know the wicked deeds I do.
But passion which brings sorrow to mankind
Is stronger far than all the plans I make.

The children enter the house and the chorus fall to moralizing on the trials of parents who raise a family, and they contrast their lot with that of the childless.

A messenger hastens in with the news of the terrible catastrophe which has taken place at the palace, and he urges Medea

to flee. She openly rejoices, and, at her request, the man gives a full account of all that has transpired (PLATE III). This is a vivid narrative. Medea knows that she has little time left to kill her children and she determines to do that dreadful deed, but still she wavers. The instinct of the mother and her love for her children again almost overcome her desire for revenge upon their father. Revenge at length conquers and she enters the house determined to slay them, but with grief in her heart. Soon the cries of the children for help are heard from behind the scenes, but they soon cease and the audience knows that the dreadful deed has been done.

Jason now enters in haste. He knows what has taken place at the palace and he has come to try to save his children from the fury of the populace. The chorus inform him that they have been slain by their mother, who now appears on high, as becomes a granddaughter of the Sun, in a chariot drawn by winged serpents, carrying with her the bodies of her children. She cares little for Jason's bitter reproaches. She refuses his plea to be permitted to bury the children's bodies, and with taunts about the unhappy life which awaits him she disappears, while Jason is left protesting to heaven against the treatment accorded him.

In spite of the use of the *deus ex machina* the *Medea* is essentially modern in character. The development of the plot depends upon the characters themselves. The story is an old one and can be traced as far back as the epic poet Eumelus of Corinth (*ca.* 740 B.C.);[1] but the killing of her children by Medea is commonly supposed to be the invention of the tragic poets. This has, however, been disputed. According to the Hypothesis the subject was not treated by Aeschylus or Sophocles,[2] but we know that they both wrote on other parts of the story. Thus Sophocles in the *Colchian Women* told of the contests which Jason successfully completed and of his capture of the

[1] Pausanias, II, 3, 8.

[2] παρ' οὐδετέρῳ κεῖται ἡ μυθοποιία.

PLATE III.—THE DEATH OF CREUSA. FROM A CRATER IN NAPLES.

Golden Fleece; and Aeschylus wrote an *Argo*, though we know very little about it. The myth was a favorite with later writers whose plays have perished. The most famous of these lost *Medeas* was by a certain Neophron of Sicyon. In fact it is hinted by Dicaearchus and in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Memoirs* that Euripides took much of his plot from this source,[1] but this is so very improbable that the statement may safely be rejected.

It has also been argued that the *Medea* as we have it is a reworking of an earlier play, for example by Hermann, Christ and others. The chief arguments in support of this theory are: 1. That certain lines in the play parallel certain others, for example that lines 723, 724, 729 and 730 equal lines 725–728; that line 777 equals lines 778 and 779; that lines 798–810 equal lines 819–823; and 1231 f. equal lines 1233–1235. 2. That words are quoted from the *Medea* which are not found in it. Thus the words *ὦ θερμόβουλον σπλάγχνον* are said by the scholiast on the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes 119 to come from the *Medea* of Euripides, but they do not occur in the play. 3. In the *Medea* of Ennius there is a translation of

μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις οὐχ αὑτῷ σοφός

which Cicero[2] quotes as a line of Euripides though he does not tell from what play. These reasons, however, are not sufficient to prove a second recension. The parallel lines may be explained as due to interpolations made by actors, for the *Medea* was often put on the stage in later times, or in other ways; and the quotations may have been made from memory, or have come from some other play in which Medea was a character.[3]

Besides the translation of the *Medea* by Ennius, various imitations of it by lesser tragic poets are recorded. For example,

[1] Cp. Hypothesis, [Εὐριπίδης] *τὸ δρᾶμα δοκεῖ ὑποβαλέσθαι παρὰ Νεόφρονος διασκευάσας, ὡς Δικαίαρχος περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βιοῦ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν.*

[2] *Epis.* XIII, 15, 2.

[3] For a discussion of the parallel lines see Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *Hermes*, XV, pp. 488 ff.

by Herillus,[1] by Melanthius,[2] by Morsimus,[3] by Diceogenes,[4] by Diogenes Oenomaus,[5] by Antiphon,[6] and by Carcinus.[7] Nothing more is known of these plays. We hear of comic *Medeas* by Strattis, Cantharus, Eubulus and, perhaps, by Antiphanes in place of the tragic *Medea* attributed to Antiphon.[8] Such parodies are natural and are good evidence for the fame of the original. In Latin Ennius, Ovid, Seneca and others dealt with the story. In Seneca's *Medea* the children are killed in the presence of the spectators, contrary to Horace's well-known dictum,[9] but the play was probably never actually put on the stage. The *Medeas* of Corneille and Grillparzer are the most famous of the modern imitations.

The *Medea* of Euripides has often been played in Athens in recent times, both in modern Greek translations and in the ancient Greek. It has always aroused interest. In fact it is recorded that on one occasion the spectators in an open-air theatre in Athens insisted that the actors should finish a performance in spite of a heavy shower, so intent were they on the outcome of the plot.

Technically the *Medea* is the most perfect of the tragedies of Euripides. The prologue, to which on general grounds objection has been made, is artistically introduced and the information which the audience should have at the beginning of the play is presented in a natural way. In regard to his introduction, at the end, of the *deus ex machina*, which has also been criticized, it must be remembered that Euripides was a practical playwright; that he knew the spectacular effect which could be produced by it; and that he undoubtedly used it in the *Medea*,

[1] Diog. Laer. VII, 3, 4.
[2] Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1013.
[3] Schol. *ibid.*
[4] Schol. to *Medea*, 167.
[5] Suidas, s. v.
[6] Pollux, VII, 57.
[7] Aristotle, *Rhet.* III, 23.
[8] See Boeckh, *Gr. Trag.* ch. XIII and Meineke, *Frag. Com. Gr.*
[9] *De arte poetica* 185, *Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet.*

as in other plays, for this purpose. There can be no question that the audience approved of it, as, in fact, a modern audience would do. It is necessary to visualize the scene in order to understand it fully.

The *dramatis personae* in the *Medea* require less discussion than in some of the other dramas. Medea herself completely dominates the play. The poet has created in her one of the most tragic figures of the tragic stage. Her personality stands forth as clear cut and vivid as that of Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth, to take a familiar example. She is everywhere represented as a woman of tremendous power and furious temper. She is the fierce, resentful, resourceful daughter of a noble house who feels too deeply for words the slight put upon her, a slight which she refuses to accept. She is determined to make her enemies pay dearly for her humiliation; and she does so. Even the death of her children becomes secondary to her revenge. Her semi-savage nature is seen to good advantage in the scene before the death of the children. She is a powerful character such as only a great dramatic genius could create.

The other characters do not require much comment. Jason is a thoroughly selfish person, who sees only what he thinks are his own interests, and is willing to sacrifice even the wife who saved his life if he can advance them. He is utterly contemptible. His weakness in the play is as apparent as the strength of Medea. It could hardly be otherwise.

Of the minor characters the nurse and the paidagogos stand forth. They are aged servants devoted to their mistress's interests and are represented true to life. Euripides knew well how to depict just such characters.

Another question remains to be considered and that is what the poet's motive was in writing the *Medea*. Was it merely to interest the spectators, as in the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and the *Ion?* To that question we must answer "No." Was it merely to represent on the stage a jealous woman grievously wronged by her husband and determined to be revenged upon

him? That is, was the poet's object the portrayal of the character and emotions of Medea in the trying circumstances in which she found herself? To a certain extent "Yes." But that is not the whole story. Where do we find the "pity" or "fear" which Aristotle demands for Greek tragedy? Not in the character of Medea, surely. Her wild and savage nature which does not stop at the cold-blooded murder of her own children can excite neither of these emotions in the audience. Neither do we feel pity or fear for the cold and calculating Jason. We have only contempt for him. As for the king, he is distinctly a secondary character and excites little interest; while the unfortunate princess does not appear on the stage at all. For none of these characters do the spectators feel either pity or fear. If one of these emotions is aroused the cause must be looked for somewhere else, and, as we have seen, it is to be found in the part of the children. It is fear for them and pity for their fate that the poet stirs up. And it is interesting to see how he does it. They are first mentioned in line 17 and again in line 36, and their fate dimly hinted at in the next line. They make their first appearance on the stage at line 46 and remain there until line 105; but from this point on, whether they are on the stage or not, the poet never permits us to forget them. They are silent characters except for a word or two uttered behind the scenes, but they have an important part in the drama. In fact the plot largely centres about their fate; and their death becomes the culmination of the tragedy. This fact has been generally overlooked, but it would be apparent enough to the spectators in the theatre. It is a good example of the importance of the silent character in Greek tragedy, particularly in the tragedy of Euripides.

The theory has been advanced that the *Medea* is one of three plays dealing with different parts of the same story. The other plays would then be the *Peliades* and the *Aegeus;* but we do not know enough about them to enable us to confirm or reject this hypothesis. At any rate the three plays were not brought out

at the same time, and they cannot be regarded as forming a trilogy. The *Medea* stands forth as a masterpiece complete in itself.

XV

The Orestes

In the *Orestes*, which was brought out at Athens in March 408 B.C.,[1] we have a most unusual type of drama. It has a strange plot such as cannot be paralleled on the Greek stage; its characters are peculiar; it is full of tragic scenes, but does not end in tragedy; and it is very spectacular. In a way it is interesting, but it is not a play that anybody can enjoy. In fact the great scholar Aristophanes of Byzantium, whose notice of it is prefixed to our text, calls it a tragedy in which all the characters except Pylades are bad.[2] And yet the *Orestes*, and with it the *Hecuba* and the *Phoenissae*, were the most read of the dramas of Euripides during the Middle Ages. In consequence manuscripts of it are not uncommon, and there are abundant scholia.

The scene is laid at Argos in front of the palace of Agamemnon.[3] Orestes is to be seen lying on a couch asleep. He has become insane as a result of his terrible act of vengeance in slaying his mother. It is the sixth day since the body of Clytaemnestra was burned on the funeral pyre, and he has neither eaten nor bathed during that time. Now at length he has fallen asleep, and Electra sits by the foot of his couch watching. She speaks the prologue and explains the situation. In his moments of sanity he weeps and leaps from his bed coverings. The Argive people will have nothing to do with the murderers of their queen, bad as she was; and on this day they are going

[1] See scholium on line 371, *πρὸ γὰρ Διακλέους, ἐφ' οὗ τὸν Ὀρέστην ἐδίδαξε, κ. τ. λ.* Diocles was archon in the year 409–408 B.C.

[2] Line 21, *χείριστον δὲ τοῖς ἤθεσι· πλὴν γὰρ Πυλάδου πάντες φαῦλοι ἦσαν.*

[3] For the question as to whether this is an interior scene shown by the eccyclema or not see p. 172.

to vote whether to stone them to death or not. She explains that Menelaus has just arrived in port with Helen on his long delayed voyage home from Troy. Watching carefully over Helen for fear she may be stoned he has sent her to the palace, where she is at the moment. Hermione, their daughter, is also there, for Menelaus had put her under the care of Clytaemnestra when he went to Troy. Electra is eagerly waiting for Menelaus for he seems to be her only possible source of help.

Helen enters. She inquires about Orestes whom she sees lying on the couch, and then tries to persuade Electra to take offerings consisting of locks of her hair and libations to the tomb of her sister Clytaemnestra. She does not dare to go herself for fear of the Argive people. Electra feels that this is something that she cannot do and urges her to send Hermione instead. When, therefore, Hermione comes in she is duly despatched on the errand.

The members of the chorus now come quietly in on tiptoe. They are girl friends of Electra, and have come to inquire about Orestes. Electra warns them away from the couch and cautions them to keep quiet and let him sleep. This lyric dialogue carried on in whispers must have been very effective on the stage.

Orestes awakes refreshed and asks how he comes to be there. Electra helps him up, but he is too weak to stand. She tells him of the arrival of Menelaus. Orestes remains rational for a few minutes only. Then a fit of insanity again seizes him and he thinks he sees the Furies. Electra covers her face and weeps at his sufferings. He urges her to go into the palace and eat and sleep, but she declines and at length covers him up and gets him quiet again on the couch.

After a short song by the chorus Menelaus enters. He is happy to be back in Greece again, but sad at the tragic death of his brother. He had been informed of it while he was still at sea by the sea divinity Glaucus. Since landing he has heard of Clytaemnestra's death, too. He inquires of the chorus for Orestes and is addressed by Orestes himself. He is shocked at

the cadaverous appearance of the man. Orestes tells him how he is tortured by the knowledge of the deed he has done. He explains that on the night of his mother's death three Furies had begun an attack upon him. The Argives excited by the friends of Aegisthus are that very day going to decide whether or not he shall be put to death by stoning. There are guards around the palace and he cannot get away. He begs Menelaus for help.

The father of Clytaemnestra, Tyndareus, now enters clad in black robes and with hair shorn in sign of mourning and greets Menelaus. He declares that Orestes deserves death, though he does not approve his daughter's conduct. Orestes defends himself, and Tyndareus after cautioning Menelaus against helping him departs. Orestes pleads with his uncle for assistance if only out of gratitude for what Agamemnon did for him. The chorus, too, adds its word in his behalf. Menelaus is noncommittal. He advises Orestes to throw himself upon the mercy of the Argives and then withdraws. It is clear that no aid can be expected from him.

Pylades now arrives coming from Phocis. He has seen the crowd intent on killing Orestes and Electra. He explains that his father has driven him from home because of his part in the death of Clytaemnestra. He advises Orestes to attempt to save himself by pleading his own cause before the people. The two leave the stage. Then, after a short song by the chorus, Electra reenters and is told where Orestes has gone. A messenger now brings the news that Electra and her brother have been condemned to death by the people. The messenger is a countryman friendly to the house of Agamemnon. He tells how he was present and saw what took place in the assembly. Some speakers favored Orestes and others opposed him. He himself spoke in his own behalf, but the people voted against him and condemned him to die that day by his own hand, and Electra also. She, in a fine lyric passage full of pathos, bewails her fate and that of her family from Tantalus down. The verse of this

passage is beautiful. In it Euripides shows his great skill as a lyric poet.

Orestes and Pylades now return. Orestes explains that he is going to die by his own hand, and is on the point of stabbing himself when Pylades stops him. He declares that he is going to die with him, but urges that they first try to make Menelaus pay the penalty for failing to help them. This they can do by killing Helen, who is execrated by everybody for the deaths she has caused through the Trojan war. Electra remembers that Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, has gone to the tomb of Clytaemnestra with Helen's offerings and she advises them to seize her when she comes back and to hold her as a hostage for their own protection after they have slain Helen. Electra is appointed to watch for her return, and Orestes and Pylades, after addressing the spirit of the dead Agamemnon, enter the palace. Electra, in a lyric dialogue with the chorus, induces them to divide into two bands and to watch the approaches to the palace. They are all tense with suppressed excitement. A shriek from Helen is heard as she calls upon Menelaus for help, but Electra merely shouts encouragement to her slayers. Hermione approaches anxiously, for she has heard the cry. Electra tells her of the death sentence passed by the people upon her brother and herself and declares that Orestes is begging Helen to save them. Hermione is deceived and enters the house only to be seized by Orestes and Pylades to whom Electra has shouted to warn them of her coming.

A Phrygian slave suddenly appears in great terror. He has saved himself from within by climbing over the beams above one of the rooms and then out through an opening under the cornice. He is very much excited and in lyric verse recounts what took place inside. Helen was reclining surrounded by her Phrygian attendants and intent on her spinning when Orestes and Pylades entered. They pretended to be suppliants and persuaded her to arise. Then, when they had got her away from her servants Orestes seized her by the hair and bent her head back to cut

her throat. The slaves were quickly put to flight, and the speaker saving himself by his agility does not know what has really happened. Hermione we learn later was seized at the critical moment, but Helen had disappeared.

Orestes comes out sword in hand looking for the Phrygian who had escaped, and quickly sends him back into the palace in abject terror. There is, perhaps, a bit of comedy here though it is but momentary. Smoke is seen coming from within. Menelaus enters with a band of followers. He has heard the news and comes with all speed to avenge Helen and save Hermione. Orestes appears on the roof and Pylades with him. They have Hermione in their power and are threatening to kill her. Orestes declares that the gods have cheated him out of slaying Helen, but Menelaus does not believe him. He is in an agony of terror about his daughter. Orestes says that he will kill her if Menelaus does not persuade the Argives to spare his life. Menelaus hesitates, and his exclamation a moment later shows that Orestes makes a motion as if to carry out his threat. He orders Electra and Pylades to burn the palace that they may all perish together.

Apollo now appears on high above the roof of the palace and explains that he has saved Helen by command of Zeus, and, furthermore, that she has been made immortal and like her brothers, Castor and Pollux, she is to become a protector of sailors. He commands Orestes to leave the land and go to the district of Parrhasia in Arcadia, and then after a year to go to Athens to stand trial at the court of the Areopagus, where he is to be acquitted. He also orders Orestes to marry Hermione, and Pylades Electra. After that Orestes is to return to Argos where he is to rule happily. Menelaus is told to withdraw to Sparta and rule that land, and he agrees to do as the god commands. Apollo then bids them all farewell and departs to escort Helen to her new abode. So the play ends, and the leader of the chorus as they file out prays for victory for the poet, using the same words which are found at the conclusion of the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and the *Phoenissae*.

There can be no question about the *Orestes* being tragic, except in its outcome;[1] but it is not a tragedy in the same sense as the *Medea* or the *Bacchae*. The opening scene with the insane Orestes shown lying on a couch and enjoying a short and fitful sleep is most unusual. One may well ask how this scene was staged. Was an interior room of the palace shown by means of the eccyclema, with the sick man lying on his couch and his sister sitting at its foot? At first sight that would seem to be the natural way of representing it; but at line 111 Helen calls Hermione from the palace and we see that the poet wishes us to imagine the scene as taking place before the palace doors.[2] There has been no opportunity to change from the eccyclema to a new position. Further confirmation of this is found in line 301 where Orestes tells Electra to go inside. This also accords with the ancient tradition in regard to this scene preserved by Aristophanes of Byzantium. We must conclude, therefore, that the entire action takes place in front of the palace.

There are several other unusual features in the stage setting of this play. Thus towards the end, where the Phrygian slave climbs out of the house over the triglyphs,[3] the scenery must have been much more substantial than usual, or such an entrance would not have been possible. This scene is also spectacular, as is the appearance of Orestes and Pylades on the palace roof holding Hermione with a sword at her throat. Quite in keeping with this is the appearance of the blazing torches (line 1573) with which Orestes threatens to set the palace on fire; and finally Apollo as the *deus ex machina* high above the orchestra. All this, together with the music, which some of the choruses lead us to infer must have been striking, show that the statement of Aristophanes of Byzantium that the *Orestes* was a remarkable play as seen on the stage may well be true.[4]

[1] Cp. Hypothesis, line 10 τὸ δρᾶμα κωμικωτέραν ἔχει τὴν καταστροφήν.

[2] Cp. line 67.

[3] It may be remembered that in the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (line 113) Pylades suggests the possibility of getting into the temple of Artemis between the triglyphs.

[4] Hypothesis, line 21, τὸ δρᾶμα τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς εὐδοκιμούντων.

But apart from the scenic effects and the exciting situations the play can hardly be said to stir the interest of the spectator. Certainly there is nothing to arouse his admiration, or to excite either pity or fear. A play with an insane man for the principal character will make an appeal to few people whether they be spectators or readers. Aeschylus in the *Eumenides* represents Orestes after the murder of his mother pursued by the Furies, and Euripides in the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* describes him in a fit of madness assailed by them, but in each of those plays, widely different as they are we pity the unfortunate hero and our sympathy is with him. But that is not the case in the *Orestes*. There he is a very different man. There is nothing noble about him. In fact the poet has taken great liberties with his plot, and made an entirely different character out of his hero.

There is no question that the *Orestes* is rightly named. Orestes is the most important personage in the play even if we have no admiration for him, and are not particularly interested in his adventures. He has no remorse for his terrible deed, though it has driven him mad; and when it is suggested that he and Pylades murder Helen he readily falls in with the scheme. He is rather glad of a chance to punish her for her misdeeds and at the same time to get even with Menelaus for failing to help him. So, too, he does not hesitate to threaten Hermione with his sword, and would kill her, too, to procure his own safety, without any compunction. The one thing that can be mentioned in his favor is his solicitude for Electra, shown for example in lines 301 ff.

Electra, too, fails to arouse our admiration. She is devoted to her brother, as we see particularly at the beginning of the play, where her tender care for him is especially noticeable; but she is quite ready to take part in the murder of Helen and shouts her encouragement to the murderers. So, too, by her falsehoods she induces Hermione to enter the house and thus brings about her capture. Electra, in fact, in the *Orestes* is not a pleasant character.

Menelaus is the hated Spartan, as in the *Andromache*. He will not help his nephew and he is punished severely in return. Aristotle[1] describes him as a good example of "unnecessary baseness of character." He, too, does not interest us.

Pylades is just as bad as the others. It is he who suggests the murder of Helen, and he helps to carry out the plan as far as he can. He readily takes part also in the threatened murder of Hermione. When, therefore, the ancient commentator says that all the characters are bad except Pylades we feel that he has made a mistake. Pylades is no exception; and, we might add, neither is the aged Tyndareus who is bent on avenging his daughter by killing her son.

The minor characters Helen, Hermione, the messenger and the Phrygian slave can hardly be included in this category, but they are distinctly subordinate and do not influence the nature of the play to any great extent. It may be remarked that Helen is the Helen of tradition. She has dutifully cut a lock of hair from her head to be placed on her sister's tomb, but has carefully cut it in such a way as not to detract from her beauty.

There are certain noteworthy passages in the *Orestes* which are deserving of mention. For example, there are the fine lines in praise of sleep spoken by the hero when he awakes refreshed.[2] Two lines of this passage are quoted by Plutarch,[3] and Ovid gives a free translation of them in his *Metamorphoses*.[4] Then, in lines 508 ff., as Adam[5] has pointed out, we find an argument against the old doctrine that the doer must suffer (*δράσαντι παθεῖν*), which plays so important a part in the drama of Aeschylus. This, of course, does not necessarily represent the opinion of Euripides; and the same is true of the passage where he says that we are the slaves of the gods whatever the gods are (*δουλεύομεν θεοῖς, ὅ τι ποτ' εἰσὶν οἱ θεοί*). This is what

[1] *Poetics*, p. 1454a, 30, *παράδειγμα πονηρίας μὲν ἦθους μὴ ἀναγκαίας.*

[2] Lines 211 ff.

[3] *De Superstitione*, ch. 3.

[4] XI, 623 ff.

[5] *The Republic of Plato*, Vol. I, p. 117, note on 380 B.

Orestes would naturally say under the circumstances. Here might be added the famous statement (lines 552 ff.) that the father is the real parent. There are some effective nautical metaphors in the play, for example in lines 706 ff., and there seem to be a number of reminiscences of the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*.

It is interesting to note that parts of no less than five papyrus manuscripts[1] of the *Orestes* have been found in Egypt in recent years. These do not contribute greatly to our knowledge of the text, which is well established because it is preserved in all of our best manuscripts; but it does seem to prove that the play was much read in late Greek times. One of these fragments, consisting of lines 338–343, is now in Vienna among the Rainer papyri and, as we have already seen, is especially interesting because it has the musical notes written above the words. A few other examples of Greek verse with the musical notation added have come down to modern times.[2]

The *Orestes* has affected different critics in different ways and some of them have a much higher opinion of it than others. Thus Patin,[3] although he criticizes certain features of the play, and particularly its ending, nevertheless has high praise for certain parts. Thus he says of the scene between Orestes and Electra after Orestes awakes on the couch, "This scene in its sentiments, language, arrangement of the dialogue and grouping of the different ideas is an epitome of the tragic genius of the Greeks, for the study of which it is almost in itself sufficient." Verrall[4] thinks that "the *Orestes* was one of the triumphs of the stage and may still be described as supreme of its kind. A tragedy in the strict sense it hardly is or could be.

[1] They are Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Nos. 1177, 1370 and 1616; Rainer Papyri, V, 365; and one published by J. Nicole in *R. de Philologie*, XIX, p. 105. One of them (Ox. Pap. 1370) contains parts of about one hundred lines.

[2] For the other examples of Greek verse with musical notes attached see W. Schubart, *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.* 1918, pp. 763 ff.

[3] *Euripide*, I, pp. 241 ff., especially p. 251.

[4] *Four Plays of Euripides*, p. 209.

But for excitement, for play of emotion, for progression and climax of horror, achieved by natural means and without strain upon the realities of life, it has few rivals in the repertory of the world."

These are exaggerated estimates and are scarcely to be accepted. In my opinion the *Orestes* is dramatic, in places even harrowing, and spectacular. It must have been very effective on the stage; but it is not a play to admire. The affection of the brother and sister for each other and the mutual devotion of Orestes and Pylades are the only redeeming features of the plot.

XVI

The Phoenissae

In the *Phoenissae* Euripides presents a play upon one of the old, familiar subjects of Greek tragedy, the story of the deadly quarrel between the two sons of Oedipus, Polynices and Eteocles. The history of the unfortunate king of Thebes and his family evidently made a strong appeal to the tragic genius of Euripides, for he wrote no fewer than seven plays upon one phase or another of the story. Only two of them, however, the *Phoenissae* and the *Suppliants*, have come down to modern times.[1]

The scene of the play is laid at Thebes in front of the royal palace, which is represented as a two story building. Parts of the lower city are to be seen and there are glimpses of the Theban plain. Jocasta, the ill-fated wife and mother of Oedipus, enters and speaks the prologue. Sophocles, in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, makes Jocasta hang herself when she learns that all unknowingly she has fulfilled the terrible oracle of Apollo, but Euripides in the *Phoenissae* represents her as still surviving.

She tells the story of the family, how she and Laius, frightened

[1] The plays are the *Alcmaeon at Corinth*, the *Alcmaeon at Psophis*, the *Chrysippus*, the *Suppliants*, the *Oedipus*, the *Antigone* and the *Phoenissae*. It has been suggested by Christ (*Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur*, sixth edition, I, p. 369) that in the first four of these tragedies Euripides added new material to the myth, while in the last three he tried to arouse interest in old material.

by the oracle which declared that their son would slay his father, had had him exposed on Mount Cithaeron at his birth; but the future Oedipus did not die. He was rescued, and reared without their knowledge, by Polybus of Corinth and his queen. Then, when he had grown to manhood, not knowing who his real parents were, he had killed his father Laius, and had been given as a reward for solving the riddle of the Sphinx the hand of the widowed queen. When he found out who he was Oedipus had torn out his eyes, and his two sons had shut him up in a part of the palace where no man could see him. Oedipus had cursed them for their conduct and predicted that they would fight with each other for the throne. Fearing this curse they had agreed to rule alternately for a year at a time, but when the year of Eteocles, the elder son, had expired, he refused to give up the throne to Polynices. The latter has now assembled an army and brought it to Thebes to enforce his claim, but before the attack on the city actually begins Jocasta sends a messenger to Polynices and arranges a conference between the two brothers, hoping that she may be able to reconcile them. Such is the situation at the opening of the play. Jocasta concludes her speech with a prayer to Zeus to reconcile her sons, and then reenters the palace.

An old slave now makes his appearance on the roof of the palace and looks cautiously about. He speaks to Antigone who remains below. She is eager to ascend to the roof to see the hostile army which is encamped in the plain. The old man finds that there is no one near to observe them and he quickly calls to her to mount the ladder. He helps her up and tells her that she is just in time, for the Argive army is seen to be in motion. The ladder is, of course, not visible to the spectators, or at least not more than the end of it. The old man had himself carried Jocasta's message to Polynices, so that he has learned who the leaders of the army are and can point them out to Antigone. This he does in reply to her questions. But now he sees a group of women approaching the palace and

he warns Antigone to descend, for it is not seemly that she should be seen on the roof and women, he reminds her, like to gossip. Antigone, therefore, descends the ladder and the group of women, who make up the chorus and incidentally give their name to the play, enter upon the ground below. They explain that they are Phoenician maidens who are on their way to Delphi to become attendants in the temple, but that they have been detained at Thebes by the arrival of the Argive army. The light lyric verse in which they sing enlivens the scene and serves as a fitting introduction to what is about to follow.

Polynices now enters cautiously sword in hand. He sheathes his sword and addresses the chorus. They tell him who they are and, when they learn that he is Polynices, call Jocasta from the palace. She greets her son in a long lyric passage, and he tells her of his fortunes. He is not as excited as his mother is and so does not reply in lyric verse, but in iambic trimeters. Eteocles, who has been summoned now enters, but he is not in a friendly state of mind. Polynices sets forth his claims to a share in the government. Jocasta in a fine speech urges Eteocles to be fair, and at the same time points out to Polynices his illogical position as leader of an army invading his native land. But Eteocles is insolent and overbearing. He has no intention of placating Polynices and he quickly succeeds in exasperating him, to the great distress of Jocasta. Polynices leaves the stage while Eteocles twits him on the appropriateness of his name. The chorus now sing of the founding of Thebes by Cadmus, of his slaying the dragon and sowing his teeth, and of the crop of armed men which sprang up. All this is lightly touched upon, and they pray for the preservation of the land from its enemies. A conference now takes place between Eteocles and his uncle Creon. Eteocles accepts Creon's suggestion to station a champion at each of the seven gates of the city, but adds that he has not the time to give their names. This has been regarded as a criticism of Aeschylus. He bids Creon complete the arrangements for

the marriage of his son Haemon with Antigone and gives orders that in case Polynices falls death be inflicted upon any one who buries him. He then departs for the army. After a choral song the old, blind prophet Tiresias enters. He is guided by his daughter and accompanied by Menoeceus, the young son of Creon, who had been sent to bring him to the palace. The aged seer wears upon his head a golden chaplet which he has recently received at Athens, which Creon regards as a good omen. Tiresias explains that the two sons of Oedipus are destined to die, each by the other's hand; and when he has been further questioned declares after some urging that the only hope of saving the city lies in the death of the boy Menoeceus. Creon urges his son to flee and promises him money to aid him. Menoeceus pretends to acquiesce, but when Creon has left tells the chorus that he has determined to slay himself for his country. The chorus sing of the Sphinx, her conquest by Oedipus, and the subsequent misfortunes of the family, and pray that they may have such a son as Menoeceus.

A messenger now enters and calls Jocasta from the palace. He tells her of the safety of her sons and explains where the different heroes of the hostile army are making their attack and what devices they have on their shields. This seems to have been an established stage tradition, for we find it also in the *Seven against Thebes*. Finally he tells of the withdrawal of the Argives. Victory lies with the Thebans; but Polynices and Eteocles have decided to settle their quarrel by single combat in the space between the armies. Jocasta in great alarm calls her daughter Antigone from the house and the two hasten off to stop the fight.

A commatic passage follows in which the chorus bewail a situation where one of the brothers must fall. Creon enters in great distress. He has just learned of the death of Menoeceus by his own hand. He calls for Jocasta and learns where she and Antigone have gone. At this moment a messenger arrives bringing the mournful tidings that the two brothers and their

mother are no more. He tells the story of the fight, and how after both of the combatants had fallen mortally wounded Jocasta had arrived too late to stop them. Eteocles could not speak, but Polynices begged her to close his eyes and have his body buried in Theban soil. But she, overwhelmed with grief, seized one of the swords and thrust it into her throat thus putting an end to her unhappy life. Then the Theban army had fallen upon the Argives and put them to flight. Antigone is now having the bodies brought back for burial.

A few moments later the bodies are brought in accompanied by Antigone. She bewails them and calls the aged Oedipus from the palace. He questions her about the tragedy. Creon then enters as king and orders Oedipus to leave the country immediately, since he is convinced that Thebes will never prosper as long as Oedipus remains in the land. Oedipus bewails his unhappy life, but will not supplicate Creon to spare him. Creon now directs that the body of Polynices be cast out unburied and decrees the death penalty against anybody who shall inter it. He tells Antigone in reply to her question that he is carrying out the wishes of Eteocles. Antigone begs him in vain to permit the burial of Polynices. She declares that she will not marry his son Haemon, but will leave the country with her father. She leads Oedipus to the bodies of Jocasta and his two sons and he touches them with his hands. She then takes him by the arm and slowly leads him away, declaring that when it is dark she will bury Polynices even if it costs her her life. With a brief lament and a few words addressed to his fellow citizens calling upon them to behold his fate Oedipus guided by Antigone passes off the stage. As the chorus move out the leader repeats the three lines praying for victory which are found at the end of the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and the *Orestes*, and so the play comes to an end.

The *Phoenissae* cannot be regarded as a great tragedy, but it is interesting and would probably act well. The plot is not a bad one and it is not surprising that the play was much read

during the Middle Ages. The charge has been made against it that it lacks unity; that we have two plots running side by side, one depicting the strife between the two brothers ending unhappily, and the other the struggle between the Argives and the Thebans ending happily for the Thebans. But this criticism is not quite fair. The real plot has to do with the rivalry of Polynices and Eteocles for the throne. The defeat of the invading army is part of the traditional story, just as is the death of the two brothers. The poet evidently saw no reason why he should deviate from it, especially as a victory for the beleaguered town would no doubt give a certain amount of satisfaction to the spectators. Both incidents, it may be added, are found in the *Seven against Thebes* of Aeschylus.

The presence of Jocasta as one of the characters in the play gives offence to the modern reader who is familiar with the plot of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles.[1] He does not like to see her brought to life again only to die by her own hand over the bodies of her sons. This incident, however, is not likely to have interfered with the enjoyment of the play by the ancient audience. It was accustomed to see the old, familiar myths put on the stage by the tragic poets with many innovations, and no doubt felt that every play must be judged by itself. At the same time the poet evidently thought that her death as part of the plot added to the tragic element of his drama.

In reading the *Phoenissae* one naturally thinks of the *Seven against Thebes*, the only tragedy on the same subject which has come down to modern times. The two plays are, however, about as different as they well could be. In the *Seven against Thebes*, the structure is simple and there are few characters. In the *Phoenissae* it is just the reverse. The plot is more or less complicated

[1] The death of Jocasta by hanging did not originate with Sophocles, but is part of the old epic tradition. Thus Homer (*Odys.* XI, 277 ff.) says of her, though he calls her Epicaste,

> ἡ δ' ἔβη εἰς Ἄϊδαο πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο,
> ἀψαμένη βρόχον αἰπὺν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῖο μελάθρου,
> ᾧ ἄχεϊ σχομένη.

and the number of characters is unusually large. Aeschylus does not bring Polynices on the stage at all, though we are told by a messenger of the mortal combat in which he engages with his brother. The announcement of the messenger is brief, while the messenger in the *Phoenissae* gives a detailed account of the fight. Aeschylus makes the greater part of the dialogue take place between Eteocles and the chorus, or Eteocles and a messenger; and at the end of the play he brings in the two daughters of Oedipus, Antigone and Ismene, for a short time. Furthermore he makes his chorus consist of Theban women. Their screams of terror and their dread of the horrors which they know await them if the city falls add greatly to the vividness of the scene. The chorus in the *Seven against Thebes* not only have a much more important part in the development of the plot than the chorus of the *Phoenissae*, but must have been much more effective dramatically.

It has been argued that lines 751 ff. of the *Phoenissae* (the passage in which Eteocles says that it would take too long a time for him to tell the names of the champions whom he is going to station at the seven gates) are intended by Euripides to be a criticism of the *Seven against Thebes*. Aeschylus does go into details. He not merely makes the messenger tell us something about each of the seven heroes in the Argive army, the device upon his shield and the gate which he is to attack, but he also makes Eteocles appoint and describe a suitable Theban champion to meet each adversary. This is an epic characteristic, and was no doubt part of the epic tradition from which Aeschylus was drawing. The words of Euripides would, therefore, be as much a criticism of the source of the *Seven against Thebes* as of the play itself. But in the early part of the *Phoenissae* (lines 119 ff.) Euripides does make the old slave describe the Argive champions for the benefit of Antigone; and again later (lines 1104 ff.) the messenger gives their names and the gate which each is to attack. In the light of these passages, unless they are interpolations, it seems probable that Euripides

did not intend to attack his famous predecessor in lines 751 ff. He is rather excusing himself from following the epic tradition, which also seems to have been the tradition of the Attic stage.

We hardly need the words of the Hypothesis[1] to remind us that the *Phoenissae* was a brilliant play scenically. That is evident to any one who reads it. It also has a large number of characters and it abounds in passages which one might quote.[2] A spectacular scene early in the performance is the appearance of Antigone on the roof with the aged slave, the paidagogos. This scene was clearly introduced by the poet to produce a striking effect upon his audience, just as in many of his other plays he introduces the *deus ex machina* for the same purpose.

The *Phoenissae* is unusually long. In fact, it is the longest of the extant plays of Euripides; and it has been suggested that its length is partly to be accounted for by interpolations made by actors when it was reproduced in later Greek times. There may be an element of truth in this suggestion, but it is not in itself sufficient to explain the length. Thus the *Orestes* and the *Helen* are only a little shorter, and the *Oedipus at Colonus* of Sophocles is actually longer.[3] The question of interpolated passages is not easy to solve. Zipperer, who discussed this subject in a dissertation published in 1875,[4] suspected a considerable number of lines. Nauck in his edition of Euripides of 1870 bracketed thirty lines and dropped out of his text sixteen more. In the Prinz-Wecklein edition of 1901 twenty-eight lines are bracketed and none dropped out. Gilbert Murray brackets thirty lines. As a matter of fact the number of doubtful lines is probably still fewer, and there is no sure test for determining what they are.

There is no great tragic character in the *Phoenissae*. The

[1] τὸ δρᾶμά ἐστι μὲν ταῖς σκηνικαῖς ὄψεσι καλόν.

[2] Cp. Hypothesis ἔστι δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα καὶ πολυπρόσωπον καὶ γνωμῶν μέστον καὶ καλῶν.

[3] The *Phoenissae* is 1766 lines long, the *Orestes* 1693, the *Helen* 1692, and the *Oedipus at Colonus* 1779.

[4] *De Euripidis Phoenissarum versibus suspectis et interpolatis.*

more important personages follow rather closely their traditional rôles on the Greek stage. Euripides makes more of a contrast than is found elsewhere between the characters of the two sons of Oedipus. Polynices has just cause for complaint that he has been treated unfairly by his brother, and he wins the sympathy of the audience. Eteocles on the other hand is arrogant and makes no attempt to justify his position by law. To him sovereignty is the one thing to seek above all others and he openly declares that he would do anything right or wrong to win and hold it. His point of view is well shown in the lines:[1]

> Let fire and swords advance to the attack,
> Yoke horses and with chariots fill the plain;
> My sovereignty I never shall resign.
> For, if one must do wrong, then it is best
> To do that wrong to hold the royal power,
> Though in all other things one should do right.

Jocasta is a rather colorless personage. She is interested in her sons and she tries her best to reconcile them. It is through her efforts that Polynices is permitted to enter the city and to have the interview with his brother, but she is not really important. Even her death by her own hand over the bodies of her sons does not make her a great tragic character.

There is little to be said about the other characters. The boy Menoeceus by his determination to die when he learns that his death is necessary to save the city, introduces a motive which Euripides employs elsewhere with success. It is not unlike the voluntary death of Macaria in the *Heraclidae*, of Iphigenia in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, and of Polyxena in the *Hecuba*. It introduces an element of pathos into the play which no doubt was favorably received by the audience.

As already pointed out the chorus consists of Phoenician women temporarily detained at Thebes. It is natural, therefore, that their interest in the outcome of the impending battle

[1] Lines 521 ff.

should not be so intense as that of the native women who compose the chorus of the *Seven against Thebes*. This may be the reason why Euripides did so unusual a thing as to introduce a chorus of foreigners. Towards the end of the fifth century B.C. the chorus had lost so much of the importance which it formerly had that Euripides could hardly hope to make it play the intimate part in the action that the terror-stricken Theban women do in the *Seven against Thebes*. Whether this is the correct explanation for the presence of a chorus of foreign women or not the poet has written their songs for the most part in light, tripping measures. One wonders if he thought in this way to give an oriental touch to the music. But be that as it may, simply from the point of view of the metre these songs are delightful even when read, and they must have added much to the enjoyment of the play by the ancient audience.

The *Phoenissae*, or rather the tetralogy of which it formed a part, apparently won second place when it was first brought out at Athens. At least that inference would seem to be justified from the defective *didascaliae* which have come down to us. The same notice implies that it was produced when "Nausicrates" was archon at Athens; but no such archon is known. The date, therefore, can only be inferred; but it was later than the *Andromeda* (412 B.C.)[1] and probably earlier than the *Orestes* (408 B.C.).

The fact that several fragments of the play on papyrus and other materials have been found in Egypt in recent years seems to imply that the *Phoenissae* was as popular in late Greek times as it was during the Middle Ages. To this reason, too, we must attribute the great body of scholia on it which has come down to modern times. This amounts to no fewer than 174 octavo pages in Schantz's edition.

[1] The date is based upon a scholium to Aristophanes, *Frogs* 53. The unknown writer there wonders why his author should refer to the *Andromeda* which, he says, was brought out eight years before the *Frogs*, and not to the *Hypsipyle*, the *Phoenissae*, or the *Antiope* which do not go so far back (πρὸ ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων).

The quarrel of the two sons of Oedipus was a favorite subject for tragedy in later times, but no one of those later plays can be definitely traced to the *Phoenissae*. The legend was too well known to permit such an attribution. Much the same thing may be said of the use of the story by workers in the minor arts. At the same time the influence of Euripides in general upon the tragic writers and upon the arts of a later period was so great that it would not be safe to deny that it was felt in this familiar story also.

XVII

The Rhesus

Among the plays which have come down to modern times in the manuscripts of Euripides is the *Rhesus*. It is an unusual play in several respects and for that reason its genuineness was doubted even in antiquity.[1] There is no question that Euripides wrote a tragedy by that name, but it has been argued that it was a different play. The problem of its authenticity is the most important one connected with the *Rhesus*, but before discussing it, it is well to give a summary of the plot which is based upon an incident in the Tenth Book of the *Iliad*.

The scene is laid in the Trojan camp in the plain before the walls of Troy. In the foreground is the tent of Hector, and other tents are to be seen stretching away to some distance. It is night and in the tenth year of the war.

The play as we now have it opens in the midst of the action. The Trojan guards, who form the chorus, come to the tent of Hector and wake him up with the news that there is a great commotion and the light of torches in the Greek camp. Hector conjectures that the Greeks have decided to abandon the siege of Troy and to sail away home secretly. He is eager to arouse his army and attack them. Aeneas, however, urges that they re-

[1] See Hypothesis, *τοῦτο τὸ δρᾶμα ἔνιοι νόθον ὑπενόησαν ὡς οὐκ ὂν Εὐριπίδου· τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνει χαρακτῆρα. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ὡς γνήσιον ἀναγέγραπται, κ. τ. λ.*

main quiet until spies can visit the Greek camp and find out the true state of affairs. A volunteer is called for and Dolon offers to go on condition that if successful he shall receive as a reward the horses of Achilles. This is agreed to and Dolon retires to disguise himself, for he plans to go to the Greek camp in the semblance of a wolf. He promises to bring back the head of Odysseus or Diomed as proof that he has performed his mission.

After a song by the chorus, in which they speculate about Dolon and hope for his success, a shepherd enters with the news that the king of Thrace, Rhesus, has arrived with a large body of followers to help the Trojans. Hector is not particularly pleased at this. In fact he is rather indignant that Rhesus should have come at all when the war is apparently almost over and the Trojans are on the point of winning a final victory. When, therefore, Rhesus enters, Hector takes him to task for his slowness. Rhesus defends himself on the ground that the Scythians had attacked his country and that he had been obliged to conquer them before he could leave for Troy. He boasts that he will be victorious over the Greeks even if he has come late, and reminds Hector that the Trojans have already fought for ten years without success. Furthermore he offers to join Hector in an invasion of Greece after the Greeks have been driven away, but Hector assures him that he will be content to have Troy safe again. Rhesus continues to boast of what he is going to do, but Hector at length gives him the pass-word and guides him to the place where he is to spend the night.

The guards, who are, perhaps, to be thought of as grouped around their camp-fire while one of their number acts as sentinel, now talk among themselves. The night is well advanced and they feel that the Lycians, who are to relieve them, should be called. They wonder what has been the fate of Dolon. Incidentally the poet lets us hear something of the voices of the night, for they mention the song of a nightingale over by the Simois, and up on the mountain the notes of a shepherd's pipe. At length the leader gives the order to go and call the Lycians.

They start to do so and when they are at a distance Odysseus and Diomed enter stealthily at the other side of the stage. Dolon, whom they had caught and slain, had told them where they would find the tent of Hector, but he is not there. They decide that there is nothing for them to do but return to the ships when Athena appears and encourages them. She tells them of the arrival of Rhesus, and that if he lives until the next day neither Achilles nor anybody else will be able to prevent him from taking the Greek camp. She urges them to kill him and drive off his splendid horses. This they decide to do. Paris enters alone and they wish to waylay him, but Athena tells them that it is not his fate to fall by their hands. He had learned that there were spies in the camp and had come to warn Hector. Athena pretends to be Aphrodite. She tells him of the arrival of Rhesus, quiets his fears and sends him off reassured. She sees the guards approaching and warns Odysseus and Diomed, but there is no time for escape. The guards discover them and come rushing forward to slay them. Odysseus, however, gives the password and they are saved. As the guards continue their frantic search for the spies Diomed and Odysseus slip away.

The charioteer of Rhesus now hastens in with the dreadful news that his master has been murdered. The man is so completely overcome by grief that he is scarcely able to control himself sufficiently to deliver his message. Hector blames the guards for not having kept a better watch. He understands the charioteer's distracted condition and when the latter blames him for plotting the death of Rhesus in order to get possession of his horses he does not take offense. He quietly gives orders that the man, who is wounded, shall be cared for, and arranges for the burial of the dead.

The Muse, mother of Rhesus, now appears on high holding the body of her murdered son in her arms. She bewails his death and blames Athena for it. Hector promises him a splendid burial, but she tells him that she will beg Persephone for the body; that it will be concealed in a cave where Rhesus will receive divine honors.

Day is just breaking and Hector gives orders to advance for another assault upon the Greek fleet. The guards utter a prayer for victory and depart.

The *Rhesus* is not a strong play as one can readily see from this sketch of it, but it is by no means bad, and it deserves a better reputation than it has usually enjoyed. There is considerable action in it and the opening scene is decidedly dramatic. It is a short play as it now stands, consisting of only 996 lines, but it was originally longer. In ancient times there were two iambic prologues to it, both of which have become lost. This we learn from the Hypothesis.[1] One of these must have preceded the opening scene as we now have it and was probably in the characteristic Euripidean manner. The other was evidently inferior in character and was believed to have been composed by actors. The eleven lines of it quoted in the Hypothesis confirm the judgment of the ancient commentator. The fact that two prologues existed side by side is very likely the cause of the loss of both. The one composed by actors, evidently at some time when there was a revival of the play, must at that time have taken the place of the genuine prologue; then at a later time it was rejected because of its evident spuriousness.

The lack of a typical Euripidean prologue may have seemed to some critics a sufficient reason for doubting the genuineness of the *Rhesus;* but the chief reason was undoubtedly the language. This is not in accord with the diction of the other extant tragedies of Euripides. There are, for example, twenty-nine words not found elsewhere in Greek literature, and others not found elsewhere in Euripides.[2] This question of vocabulary, of

[1] πρόλογοι δὲ διττοὶ φέρονται. ὁ γοῦν Δικαίαρχος ἐκτιθεὶς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ Ῥήσου γράφει κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως·

νῦν εὐσέληνον φέγγος ἡ διφρήλατος

καὶ τ. ἑ. ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἕτερός τις φέρεται πρόλογος, πεζὸς πάνυ καὶ οὐ πρέπων Εὐριπίδῃ· καὶ τάχα ἄν τινες τῶν ὑποκριτῶν διεσκευακότες εἶεν αὐτόν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· Then follow eleven iambic trimeter lines.

[2] See Rolfe in *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.* IV, 1893, p. 73, quoting Hermann, Hagenbach, and others.

which the early critics made so much, is really not so important as they thought.[1] The peculiarities might be explained as due partly to the subject, partly to the fact that the author seems to a certain extent to have been under the influence of Aeschylus when he composed the play. The statement in the Hypothesis that it had characteristics of Sophocles cannot be substantiated. On that point modern critics are agreed. There is nothing Sophoclean about the *Rhesus*.

The real test of the genuineness of the play is not to be found in anything so superficial as differences in vocabulary. One must look deeper and examine the underlying feeling and thought, and this he will find to be wholly Euripidean. Examine, for example, the soliloquy of Hector (lines 52–75); the argument of Aeneas (lines 105–130); the dialogue between Hector and Dolon (lines 154–194); the dochmiac passage (195–200); the speech of the messenger (284–316); the ode which follows (342–387) in which the chorus tell of the birth of Rhesus and his coming to Troy, their wonder whether the city will recover its former prosperity, and the prediction of the death of Achilles; the wonder as to who the spy is (697 ff.); the narrative of the charioteer (756 ff.). All these are distinctly Euripidean, as are the "double entendre" in line 666 f. and the use of the *deus ex machina* when the Muse appears on high holding the body of her son. An imitator might, if he wished, imitate the linguistic peculiarities of his model (a thing which he has not done), but he would almost certainly have failed to reproduce the characteristics of Euripides as they appear in these passages.

A further argument in support of the genuineness of the *Rhesus* is to be found in the apparent imitation of lines 674–685 by Aristophanes in the *Acharnians*, lines 280 ff. If we could be certain that this was a real imitation, and that the resemblances in the two passages are not due merely to a coincidence, the

[1] See Eysert, *Rhesus im Lichte des Euripid. Sprachgebrauches*; Porter, *Hermathena*, XVII, 1913, pp. 348–380; and Richards, *Class. Quart.* X, 1916, pp. 192–197.

question of the authenticity of the play would be settled once and for all.[1]

For these reasons, then, I think that we must regard the *Rhesus* as a genuine work of Euripides. Its linguistic peculiarities can be explained if we imagine that it was an early play, written when the poet was more or less under the influence of his famous predecessor, Aeschylus. There is, in fact, a tradition going back at least to the second century B.C. that the *Rhesus* was an early play. Such was the belief of the grammarian Crates of Mallus, head of the great library at Pergamus, who wrote a learned commentary on Euripides.[2] This tradition I believe to be correct.

Perhaps it should be stated here that in modern times the *Rhesus* was generally rejected by the early editors and critics, though none of them offered a satisfactory explanation as to how a work by an unknown dramatist became incorporated in an edition of the plays of Euripides; while today the general tendency is to accept it.[3] One recent writer[4] tries to combine both ideas by granting that the play is genuine, but arguing that it underwent a complete reworking.

If, then, the *Rhesus* is the work of Euripides can we find a probable date for it? Walter Leaf,[5] acting upon the suggestion of earlier writers, has argued that it was a "pièce d'occasion" written for the founding of Amphipolis in Thrace, either in 437 B.C. or a little earlier. This may be correct. At present, however, anything like certainty is impossible, and the date must be regarded as merely a subject for conjecture.

[1] For a fuller discussion see Bates, *Transactions of Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XLVII, 1916, pp. 5 ff.

[2] See Schol. to *Rhesus* 528, *Κράτης ἀγνοεῖν φησι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τὴν περὶ τὰ μετέωρα θεωρίαν διὰ τὸ νέον ἔτι εἶναι ὅτε τὸν Ῥῆσον ἐδίδασκε.*

[3] Bates, *ibid.*

[4] H. Steiger, *Euripides, seine Dichtung und seine Persönlichkeit*, p. 94.

[5] *Jour. Hel. Stud.* 1915, pp. 1–11. In *Class. Quart.* XX, 1926, pp. 8 ff. W. Ridgeway argues that it was composed in Macedonia with the *Bacchae* and the *Archelaus* toward the end of the poet's life.

One very unusual feature of the *Rhesus* which calls for a few words of comment is that the action of the whole play is supposed to take place at night. It has been pointed out that Euripides is above all a practical dramatist and one wonders what means he took to give the impression of darkness. An ancient Greek theatre open to the sky and the bright sun-light could not be artificially darkened like a modern theatre. Perhaps the use of lanterns by guards and others on the stage may have been regarded as sufficient to produce the illusion in the minds of the spectators. In no other extant Greek drama does the action take place wholly at night; and here again we may have an example of Euripides' love of novelty. Plays, however, often began very early in the morning, as, for example, the *Ion*.

Another thing which should be remembered about the *Rhesus* is that it is based upon the *Iliad*, and tragedies with plots drawn from that source are rare. So far as known no other play of Euripides is derived from it; and but one tragedy of Sophocles,[1] and four of Aeschylus[2] can be traced back to it.

The characters of the *Rhesus* call for little comment. There is no outstanding tragic personage. Hector is the chief character and he is on the stage most of the time, but there is nothing especially noteworthy about him. He is the commander of the Trojan army and that is all. At the same time he is represented in keeping with his character in the *Iliad*.

More interesting as a dramatic personality than the Hector is the charioteer of Rhesus. His grief for his master is real, and his accusation of Hector is what one might expect from so devoted a servant. His account of the tragedy compares favorably with the speeches of the messengers in the other plays of Euripides.

Rhesus is on the stage but a short time, and, in fact, speaks but fifty-nine lines in the whole play, but his tragic death is the

[1] The *Phrygians*.

[2] The *Ransoming of Hector*, the *Europa* or the *Carians*, the *Myrmidons*, and the *Nereids*.

most important incident in it and the poet rightly chose his name for his title.

Dolon, with his foolish disguise, is tragic in his very folly; but Aeneas and Paris, Odysseus and Diomed, and Athena are in no way especially noteworthy. The Muse, whom the scholiast would identify as Clio or Euterpe,[1] excites our sympathy by her grief as she makes her spectacular entrance high in air in true Euripidean manner, but neither does she call for extended comment.

The part of the chorus is somewhat different. It is full of action and contributes much to the liveliness of certain scenes, notably that in which Odysseus and Diomed are discovered. It must have been largely responsible for whatever success the play had on the ancient stage.

The scenes just mentioned should not be passed over without a few words about the stage action. When Odysseus and Diomed enter the chorus, that is the guards, intent on summoning the Lycians, have nearly reached the other end of the stage, and so do not see them. They are not, however, all in a body, but several are trailing along behind as a sort of rear guard. These are the men who discover the two Achaeans, and, running back, capture and question them. After they have let them go they rejoin their comrades who have turned back, and at line 692 the chorus are all together again. It is not necessary to imagine a supplementary chorus here.

It has sometimes been supposed that four speaking actors were needed for this scene, but such is not the case. It can readily be shown that not more than three were required.[2] In this respect, therefore, the *Rhesus* conforms to the established convention of the Attic stage.

[1] Schol. on line 393.

[2] See Bates, *ibid.* p. 10.

XVIII

The Suppliants

The *Suppliants*, as we have already seen, belongs to a small class of plays written for the glorification of Athens. This was clearly recognized in antiquity, and we find it so stated in the three lines of the Hypothesis which are still preserved.

The scene is laid at Eleusis. In the background is the temple of Demeter. At an altar in front of it is seated Aethra, the mother of Theseus, and about her are grouped the aged Argive women who form the chorus. These are the Suppliants; they are the mothers, and perhaps, some of the grandmothers of the heroes who joined Polynices, the son of Oedipus, in the expedition against Thebes in which they all lost their lives. A man lies at the gate with his head covered, lamenting. This is Adrastus, father-in-law of Polynices, and with him are several boys, sons of the dead heroes. The chorus, it will be noticed, are on the stage when the action of the drama begins. This is an unusual feature. They do not enter at line 42, but come forward from their first position to make their address to Aethra and to perform their dance.

The plot is this. The Thebans had refused to permit the burial of the seven chiefs who had fallen in the attack upon Thebes. In consequence the mothers of the dead heroes accompanied by Adrastus and their grandsons set out for Athens to ask aid of Theseus. At Eleusis they meet Aethra who agrees to intercede with her son for them. A messenger has been sent to Athens to summon Theseus, who comes in haste to find out what is wanted of him. At first he is disinclined to help them because in doing so he sees no advantage for the people of Athens; but, at length, moved by his mother he agrees to intervene. At this moment a messenger arrives from Thebes demanding that Theseus drive Adrastus out of Attica. Theseus will not permit this dictation. He tells the herald plainly that he proposes to bury the dead heroes, and then leaves to collect his army.

Adrastus is not permitted to go with him, but is told to remain at Eleusis and await the outcome. Some time is now supposed to elapse and the chorus is busy discussing the situation when a messenger comes from Thebes with the news that Theseus and his army have been completely victorious. Theseus soon arrives bringing with him the dead bodies and preparations are made for burning them. Six are to be placed on a single pyre, but that of Capaneus who was struck by lightning is to be burned and buried apart. Evadne, the wife of Capaneus, enters and bewails his death. She climbs an overhanging rock and, in spite of all her father Iphis can do to prevent her, casts herself from it upon the burning pyre of her husband.[1] The sons of the dead heroes now enter with the bones of their fathers, but before they are permitted to leave for Argos Athena appears and tells Theseus to exact an oath from Adrastus that Argos will always be friendly to Athens. The chorus call upon Adrastus to take the oath and thus the play ends.

The *Suppliants* is an episodic play with a rather slender plot and there are passages in it which seem irrelevant to the reader. Such is the discussion between Theseus and the herald of the relative merits of democracy and monarchy (409 ff.); but, perhaps, such a scene may be justified in a patriotic play written to extol Athens. The whole object of the *Suppliants* is clearly to show that Athens is the guardian of law both human and divine, that she follows a policy of generously aiding the weak against the strong rather than one of political expediency. The justification of the Athenian form of government is, therefore, natural and would certainly please the audience. If, then, this scene seems inartistic and superfluous from a dramatic standpoint, it may be defended on the ground of its popular appeal. Perhaps the short passage in defense of the great middle class among the citizens (238 ff.) is to be explained in the same way.

But there are fine passages in the play, too, and scenes which

[1] It is, perhaps, such scenes that Aristotle has in mind when he speaks of οἱ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ θάνατοι, *Poetics*, p. 1452b, 12.

make a lasting impression. Particularly pleasing is the scene between Theseus and his mother (286 ff.) in which he shows his affection for her, and she with delicacy and hesitation at length urges him to adopt a policy which she knows he regards as of doubtful expediency and yet she feels is right. Again, the lyric passage (42 ff.) in which the chorus address Aethra, an aged woman like themselves, is worthy of praise. The messenger's speech (650 ff.) gives a vivid account of the battle. A scene of a different kind is that in which Evadne, partially deranged from grief, climbs the high rock and casts herself upon her husband's blazing funeral pyre (990 ff.). This is no doubt theatrical, but it is vivid and must have made a strong impression upon the spectator as it does upon the reader today. It is hardly necessary to say that the pyre was behind the scenes and not visible to the audience. There is one passage in which Euripides appears to be criticizing Aeschylus (846 ff.), though this has been denied. It is where a brief account of the Seven Heroes is given; but Theseus adds that he will not ask who the antagonist of each one was, or how he was wounded. Aeschylus in the *Seven against Thebes* (362 ff.) gives over three hundred lines to an account of the heroes and their opponents.

The *Suppliants* was so clearly written for patriotic purposes that it might be supposed that the plot originated with Euripides, but that appears not to have been the case. According to Plutarch (*Theseus*, XXIX) the *Eleusinians* of Aeschylus dealt with the same subject.

It is worthy of note that the action of the play covers considerable time. Thus Theseus goes from Eleusis to Athens, collects his army, marches to Thebes, fights a battle and returns to Eleusis. Then the bodies of the dead heroes are burned and the bones collected for transportation to Argos before the play comes to an end. There is no effort on the part of the poet to restrict the action to a limited time.

The date of the *Suppliants* is not known, but it was written when Sparta and Argos were not on friendly terms (line 187),

and when the poet wished to impress Argos with the fact that Athens was her traditional friend and that Argos should show her gratitude for ancient favors. It would seem to have been written not long before the Athenian alliance with Argos in 420. Christ thought he saw repeated allusions in the play to the refusal of the Thebans to permit the burial of the Athenian dead after the battle of Delium in 424 (Th. IV, 97), but there is no way of proving that he is right.

We must, then, regard the *Suppliants* as one of the less important plays of Euripides, but one in which the plot was justified by the times in which it was composed. We must think of it as written for Athens on some special occasion in her history. It would act well, and was no doubt well received by the Athenian audience who first heard it.

XIX

The Troades

The *Troades* of Euripides is a very unusual play. It has to do with the misfortunes of the women of Troy just after the sack of the city, and was the third play of the trilogy. Aelian[1] has preserved the greater part of the *didascaliae* which states that in the ninety-first Olympiad, or, more exactly, in the year 415 B.C. a certain Xenocrates, otherwise unknown, won the tragic prize and Euripides came second with the *Alexander*, the *Palamedes*, the *Troades* and the satyr drama *Sisyphus*. These titles prove that all three tragedies had to do with the story of Troy, but they were evidently not connected parts of one great whole, like the *Orestea* of Aeschylus. The plot, so far as it can be called a plot, is this.

The scene is laid in the plain immediately in front of Troy after its capture. In the background are the broken walls of the city and a gate. Dead bodies lie about. At one side are some wooden huts in which the captive Trojan women are lodged.

[1] *Var. Hist.* II, 8.

An aged woman, whom we discover to be Hecuba, the former queen of Troy, lies asleep on the ground near the gate. It is very early in the morning. The god Poseidon appears and tells of the disaster to the city which he had tried to protect. Athena enters. She is angry at the outrage on Cassandra and determines to join Poseidon in bringing disaster to the Greek fleet on its homeward voyage. Day dawns and Hecuba awakes and sings a long lament in which she is joined by a group of captive Trojan women, who form the chorus and give the play its name. The herald Talthybius enters for the purpose of conducting Cassandra to her master Agamemnon. He tells of the disposition to be made of the other Trojan women. Cassandra comes from the huts crowned with flowers and holding a lighted torch like a bride. She sings a marriage song. This is one of the most tragic and at the same time most dramatic scenes in Euripides. With her distraught mind she thinks of nothing wrong, but is joyous in the thought that she is to be wedded to a great king. Hecuba is greatly distressed. Cassandra stops her song, but still possessed by the spirit of the god she predicts her own death and that of Agamemnon. Talthybius does not take her words seriously, but attributes them to her disordered brain and leads her away. Hecuba is overcome by grief and falls to the ground, and, when the other women hasten to her aid, laments her misfortunes and those of her family. A wagon loaded with spoil is driven in and on it to her great distress Hecuba sees Andromache seated holding her little son Astyanax. Andromache tells her of the sacrifice of her daughter Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles, but declares that her own fate is still worse. Hecuba even in the midst of her deep distress advises Andromache to honor her new master that she may bring up successfully her little boy, the one hope of Troy. At this moment Talthybius returns bringing the dreadful news that the Greek leaders have decided that Astyanax is to be hurled from the walls of Troy to his death. The boy is taken from his agonized mother

and grandmother and led away to his death,[1] while the wagon with Andromache drives on.

After a song of great beauty by the chorus which serves to relieve the tension of the spectators Menelaus comes after his wife Helen. The Greeks have given her to him to kill if he thinks fit. Helen comes from the huts. She is not greatly alarmed and is looking her best. She defends her conduct with specious arguments which are assailed by Hecuba. Menelaus is sullen, but he wavers and determines to send her home to Greece for punishment, though not in his own ship. The chorus bewail their fate and pray that lightning may strike the ship of Menelaus. The dead body of Astyanax is brought in and given to Hecuba to lay out for burial on Hector's shield. The unhappy queen and her women perform this last service and bewail the boy. Troy is now seen to be burning. Talthybius and his men enter and drag off the Trojan women to the ships. Hecuba would throw herself into the flames but is prevented. Lamenting their unhappy fate and that of their country the Trojan women pass from the stage.

The *Troades* is a most unpleasant play to read. There is sorrow after sorrow without a ray of hope for the Trojan women, unless it be the hint in the prologue that the Greeks are going to have trouble on their voyage home. This helpless suffering palls upon the reader and makes him feel that it is impossible to go on. Gilbert Murray has attempted a defense of the play.[2] He regards the whole drama as "a study in sorrow, a study too intense to admit of plot interest." "All through the play," he says, "when the misery appears to be unredeemed, when of the faint lights in the sky ray after ray goes out and the darkness is absolute—then, in some mysterious way, the darkness itself,

[1] The death of Astyanax was part of the old epic tradition, as told for example by Lesches in the *Iliupersis*, but there was a difference of opinion as to whether he died by the decision of the Greeks or was killed by Neoptolemus. Cp. Pausanias, X, 25, 9 *τούτῳ Λέσχεως ῥιφέντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου συμβῆναι λέγει τὴν τελευτήν, οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ δόγματός γε Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίᾳ Νεοπτόλεμον αὐτόχειρα ἐθελῆσαι γενέσθαι.*

[2] *Independent Review*, reprinted in *Living Age*, Vol. 245 (1905), pp. 37 ff.

which we so dreaded, proves to be a friend." He thinks "Hecuba realizes the magnificence of her fate . . . . the glory and beauty that must abide by such intense suffering."

There is something to be said for this interpretation, but it does not tell the whole story. Some years ago the *Troades* was produced in Philadelphia and elsewhere in an English translation by an excellent company of English actors and this performance gave all who saw it a very different idea of the play from that which they had previously held. In the first place the incidents which seemed like disconnected scenes when read appeared to be much more closely knit together, so that there actually seemed to be a plot which advanced steadily to a climax. The play was tremendously effective and the spectators deeply moved. It was not merely harrowing as it seems when read. Of the thousands who saw it many were in tears and all were ready with one accord to proclaim the *Troades* a great masterpiece of tragedy. Thus it was very effectively demonstrated, as has been said before, that the tragedies of Euripides were distinctly plays written for acting, and that they can be rightly understood only when presented as the poet intended them to be presented, on the stage. After seeing the play acted we are not so much surprised that the *Troades* and the other plays which were originally brought out with it won the second prize for Euripides, but rather that they did not win first prize.

The *Troades* has often been compared with the *Hecuba* and the comparison is natural. Both have to do with the sorrows of the Trojan queen and the other women of Troy after its fall. The motive of revenge which is important in the *Hecuba* is lacking in the *Troades*, and there are some differences of detail. Thus in the *Hecuba* Polyxena is sacrificed in Thrace, while in the *Troades* Achilles is buried at Troy, and the sacrifice takes place there. But such differences are unessential; the motive, the distress of Hecuba, is the same.

Of the characters in the *Troades* Hecuba is by far the most important and most interesting. The aged queen experiences

sorrows which would cause the insanity or death of any ordinary mortal, but during the action of the play she bears up against one harrowing misfortune after another. The dramatist sets forth the triumph of a noble character over mental anguish almost too great to bear. Hecuba is a queen, even if the fortunes of war have reduced her to the position of a wretched slave, and she commands our admiration and sympathy in her distress.

Next to Hecuba Cassandra is, perhaps, the most striking character in the play. Her insanity, her partial comprehension of the situation in which she stands, and her dreadful prophesies which nobody believes make her a most tragic figure; and yet Euripides does not portray her with that terrifying madness which she has in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus.

Andromache is the Andromache of Homer, noble in every way, and, as would be expected, patient in her suffering. She is before the spectators but a short time (lines 577–798), but she makes a lasting impression upon them.

Talthybius is the rather dull soldier who knows nothing except to carry out to the letter the orders of his superior officers. He is not without feeling, for he is touched by the suffering which he sees about him, but with him his orders are more important than anything else.

The lyrics of the *Troades* have long been famous, particularly the ode which follows the seizure of the boy Astyanax.

It has been suggested that the very severe treatment accorded the people of Melos by the Athenians when they captured that island in 416, the year before the play was brought out, had a great influence upon the poet, and that it is largely responsible for the subject. There may be something in this theory, but it must not be carried too far. We must not, for example, think that when the poet is speaking of Troy he really means Melos. That would give an altogether wrong impression. It is quite possible that the subject was suggested to Euripides not by Melos, but by the famous painting by Polygnotus in the Stoa Poikile at Athens representing Troy after its fall.

CHAPTER V

THE LOST PLAYS

THE AEGEUS—THE AEOLUS—THE ALCMAEON AT PSOPHIS—THE ALCMAEON AT CORINTH—THE ALCMENA—THE ALEXANDER—THE ALOPE—THE ANDROMEDA—THE ANTIGONE—THE ANTIOPE—THE ARCHELAUS—THE AUGE—THE AUTOLYCUS—THE BELLEROPHON—THE BUSIRIS—THE CHRYSIPPUS—THE CRESPHONTES—THE CRETANS—THE CRETAN WOMEN—THE DANAË—THE DICTYS—THE EPEUS—THE ERECHTHEUS—THE EURYSTHEUS—THE HIPPOLYTUS VEILED—THE HYPSIPYLE—THE INO—THE IXION—THE LICYMNIUS—THE MELANIPPE THE WISE—THE MELANIPPE THE PRISONER—THE MELEAGER—THE OEDIPUS—THE OENEUS—THE OENOMAUS—THE PALAMEDES—THE PELEUS—THE PELIADES—THE PHAETHON—THE PHILOCTETES—THE PHOENIX—THE PHRIXUS—THE PLEISTHENES—THE POLYIDUS—THE PROTESILAUS—THE SCIRON—THE SCYRIANS—THE STHENEBOEA—THE SYLEUS—THE TELEPHUS—THE TEMENIDAE—THE TEMENUS—THE THERISTAE—THE THESEUS—THE THYESTES

To obtain a really satisfactory idea of the drama of Euripides it is not enough to make a careful study of the nineteen extant plays. They are, naturally, the main source of our information and they must serve as the basis for all our conclusions on the general character of his tragedy. But they formed less than a quarter of his published work, and, if we are to make our picture complete, we must also study the fragments of the lost plays and reconstruct them as far as is possible. We shall find that they give us a broader idea of the legends which he used for his plots and of the way in which he modified them, as well as much information as to the manner in which he handled his themes. They likewise show us that there were types of plays in his

repertoire which are not represented in his extant dramas. Thus, from the plays which have come down to us, we should not have imagined Euripides writing a tragedy with such a plot as that of the *Polyidus*, or the *Cretans*. A careful study, then, of the fragments of the lost plays and all that can be learned about them is essential to our purpose.

In late Greek times there were probably extant under the name of Euripides seventy-eight plays, as was shown long ago by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf.[1] Of these one tetralogy, the *Tennes*, the *Rhadamanthys*, the *Pirithous* and the *Sisyphus*, although parts of all of them are quoted under the name of Euripides, was probably the work of Critias.[2] These plays must, therefore, be thrown out. That leaves fifty-five plays which have since become lost. In the pages which follow each of these is discussed and what is known about it set forth.[3] In the case of some we have much information; in the case of others little or none. But it is almost always possible to recover the general outlines of the story even when we cannot find out just how Euripides treated it. Nothing is known of the plays lost in early times.

It was seen that in the extant tragedies the type of play was no sure indication of date. So, too, with the lost tragedies the case is the same. Plays with similar plots might be early or late. Furthermore the dates are usually uncertain. For this reason the discussions which follow are arranged in alphabetical order, except that where we find two plays dealing with different parts of one story, as the two *Alcmaeons* and the two *Melanippes*, the play concerned with the earlier part is put first.

[1] *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 145; also above, pp. 15 f.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 161 ff.

[3] In place of the lost satyr drama of which the first letter of the title (*P*. . . .) alone is known, I have included the very little information which we have about the *Theristae*.

I

The Aegeus

Little direct information has come down to modern times about the *Aegeus* of Euripides[1] and very little of the play is preserved. There are in all thirteen fragments having a total of less than twenty lines and no one of them is especially significant, and yet, with the help of Plutarch, Apollodorus and a few references in other authors[2] the general outlines of the plot may be recovered. It is this:

Medea, who had fled from Corinth after the murder of her children, is apparently supposed to be living at Athens with the aged Aegeus when the play begins. She has borne him a son, Medus. This was probably set forth in the prologue which Medea seems to have spoken. The youthful Theseus now enters seeking his father, Aegeus. He has grown to manhood and found his father's sword and boots beneath the great rock at Troezen where they had been placed years before. Medea meets him and learns his story. In fact, the first scene after the prologue may well have been a dialogue between the two. She plans his death and easily persuades the aged Aegeus to poison him as an enemy plotting against his throne. A great banquet is prepared at which Theseus, wishing to give his father an opportunity to recognize him, draws his ivory-hilted sword as if to cut the meat. Aegeus recognizes the sword, knows that the bearer must be his son, and dashes the cup of poison on the ground. Medea, as a punishment for her attempted crime, is driven from Athens. Such must have been the general character of the plot. The date of the play is not known.

[1] See Welcker, *Die Griechischen Tragödien*, pp. 729 ff.; and Hartung, *Euripides Restitutus*, I, pp. 297 ff.

[2] Plutarch, *Theseus*, XII, 4–7; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* I, 9, 28 and *Epit.* I, 5 ff.; Diodorus Siculus, IV, 55, 4 ff.; Pausanias, II, 3, 8; Ovid, *Met.* VII, 406–424; Schol. to Iliad, XI, 741; Eustathius, *Comment. on Dion Perieg.* 1017.

II

The Aeolus

The *Aeolus* was a well-known tragedy much discussed in antiquity because of the peculiar nature of its plot,[1] which was roundly condemned by Aristophanes.[2] Forty-two fragments of it, none of them long, are preserved having a total of about sixty-eight lines; but they give little satisfactory information as to the way in which the poet treated his theme. In its general aspects the story is known from several sources[3] all of which may have been derived from the play, directly or indirectly. So much seems to be established:

Macareus, one of the sons of Aeolus, has fallen in love with one of his sisters, Canace by name, and when Aeolus suggests, as he seems to have done early in the play, that it is time for his twelve children to marry, proposes that the sons marry the daughters. This suggestion is indignantly rejected by Aeolus. Canace, however, gives birth to a child and her intrigue with her brother is thus discovered. Aeolus then sends her a sword with which she kills herself. Macareus, too, slays himself upon learning of the death of Canace. Ovid[4] mentions an old nurse who was in the secret, and it may well be that she had an important part in the play. She may have been in the confidence of the lovers from the beginning and, perhaps, spoke the prologue, as suggested by Hartung;[5] and it is possible that through her Aeolus eventually learned the truth.

The story is distinctly tragic, but although Euripides undoubtedly introduced new elements into it he did not invent it. He may have got his suggestion for it from a passage in the

[1] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 860 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 254 ff.; L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, pp. 233 ff.

[2] Cp. *Clouds*, 1371 f. and scholium. It was parodied by Aristophanes in his *Aeolosicon* of which a few fragments are extant.

[3] Ovid, *Heroides*, XI; Stobaeus, *Flor.* 64, 35; Plutarch, *Paral.* XXVIII, p. 312 C; Dion. Hal. *Art. Rhet.* IX, 11.

[4] *Heroides*, XI, 33 ff.

[5] *Op. cit.* I, p. 255.

FIGURE 4.—THE DEATH OF CANACE. FROM A HYDRIA AT BARI

Tenth Book of the *Odyssey*,[1] where Homer tells of the six sons and six daughters of Aeolus and that the daughters were married to the sons.

Séchan[2] calls attention to an Attic hydria in the museum at Bari upon which is depicted a scene which may represent Macareus and Aeolus discovering the dead body of Canace (Fig. 4). This may have been inspired by the *Aeolus* of Euripides.

Wilamonitz-Moellendorf[3] dates the play before 421 B.C.

III

The Alcmaeon at Psophis

Euripides wrote two tragedies entitled *Alcmaeon*,[4] one when he was in his prime and the other towards the end of his life. The first of these, later known as the *Alcmaeon at Psophis*,[5] was brought out as the second play in the same tetralogy with the *Alcestis* in the year 438 B.C. This group won second place.[6] The later play was the *Alcmaeon at Corinth*, and was produced along with the *Iphigenia at Aulis* and the *Bacchae* after the poet's death. These plays were awarded the first prize.[7] The ancient authors who, for one reason or another, have handed down a few lines of the two tragedies usually do not state from which *Alcmaeon* they are quoting, so that of the twenty-two fragments, amounting to about forty-four lines which are still preserved, few are of help in reconstructing either drama. The plots may, however, be recovered in their general outlines from other sources.

[1] *Od.* X, 5 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 236. For a reproduction of the scene see *Arch. Zeit.* XLI, 1883, pl. VII, 1.

[3] *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 148.

[4] According to the statement of an anonymous grammarian (*Anecd. Oxon.* Vol. II, p. 337, 4) quoted by Nauck, *Euripides*, Vol. III, p. 14, Euripides spelled the name Ἀλκμέων, not Ἀλκμαίων. It has, however, seemed better to retain the usual spelling for the sake of consistency, even though the statement is correct.

[5] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 575 ff. and Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 187 ff.

[6] See p. 58.

[7] See p. 17.

The story of Alcmaeon was famous in Greek mythology and frequently served as a subject for tragedy. Besides the two plays of Euripides, Sophocles wrote an *Alcmaeon* as did several less known tragic poets, and there were plays with other titles dealing with different parts of the myth.[1] In its most important features it is not unlike the story of Orestes. Each of the two kills his mother to avenge his father, and each becomes mad as a result, but their subsequent adventures are very different. The story of Alcmaeon is this:

Amphiaraus, the one righteous man among the seven heroes in the expedition against Thebes organized by Polynices, tried to avoid going, for he could foresee his own death and that of his companions. He had, however, made a promise when he married Eriphyle that he would follow her decision in any matter in which he should differ in opinion from her brother Adrastus. Polynices, son of Oedipus and friend of Adrastus, knowing this bribed Eriphyle by means of the necklace of Harmonia to decide against her husband though she knew that in doing so she would cause him to lose his life. Amphiaraus, therefore, took part in the expedition and, after the defeat and death of his companions, he was swallowed up by the earth together with his chariot. His elder son Alcmaeon was directed either by his father or by Apollo to punish his mother Eriphyle, and he slew her.[2] In consequence he was attacked by the Furies and afflicted with madness. In this condition he fled to Psophis in Arcadia where Phegeus was king. All this is supposed to have happened before the action of the *Alcmaeon at Psophis* begins and it may

[1] Sophocles, Agathon, Nicomachus, Astydamas, Euaretus and Theodectes all wrote tragedies entitled *Alcmaeon*; and Achaeus wrote a satyr drama with that title. Other plays connected with the story are an *Epigoni* by Aeschylus, an *Epigoni* or *Eriphyle* and a satyr drama *Amphiaraus* by Sophocles; an *Alphesiboea* by Achaeus; an *Eriphyle* by Nicomachus; an *Amphiaraus* by Carcinus, and another by Cleophon; and an *Amphilochus* by Callistratus.

[2] According to one version of the story he was assisted by his brother Amphilochus, but this seems not to have been followed by Euripides. See Apollodorus, *loc. cit.*

well have been set forth in the prologue. The rest of the story is related by Apollodorus and Pausanias.[1]

Phegeus has welcomed Alcmaeon and given him his daughter Alphesiboea[2] in marriage, and Alcmaeon has presented his bride with the famous necklace and robe of Harmonia. Here, probably, the action of the play starts. The land is now afflicted with barrenness and the oracle at Delphi has directed Alcmaeon, who is the cause of the affliction, to go to the "newest" land which the sea has uncovered since he slew his mother. In that way alone can he escape from the avenging fury of Eriphyle. He, therefore, goes to the alluvial land formed by the river Achelous where he settles down, is purified by Achelous, and marries his daughter Callirrhoe. The latter, however, hears of the famous necklace and robe and insists upon having them, and Alcmaeon returns to Psophis to recover them from his former wife. According to Apollodorus he tells the king that it has been foretold that when he has conveyed the robe and the necklace to Delphi he will be freed from his madness. Phegeus believes him and gives them to him; but one of Alcmaeon's servants lets out the secret, that he is taking them to Callirrhoe. Phegeus informs his sons who waylay and kill Alcmaeon, and, according to Pausanias, dedicate the necklace to Apollo at Delphi.

Whether the play ended with the death of Alcmaeon, as would seem logical and as seems to be implied by Pausanias, we cannot be sure. Apollodorus continues with the story thus: Callirrhoe learning of the death of Alcmaeon and being wooed by Zeus begs him that her sons may be full grown in order that they may avenge their father's murder. Her wish is granted[3] and Amphoterus and Acarnan set out and come upon the two sons of Phegeus who are on their way to Delphi and slay them. They then go to Psophis and kill Phegeus and his wife, and afterwards

[1] Apollodorus, *Bibl.* III, 7, 5 ff.; Pausanias, VIII, 24, 7 ff. The stories differ slightly in the two authors.

[2] In some versions she is called Arsinoe. See Apollodorus, *loc. cit.*

[3] Cp. Ovid, *Meta.* IX, 414 ff.

dedicate the robe and necklace at Delphi. Whether or not this part of the story was included in the *Alcmaeon at Psophis* it is impossible to say. Where so many plays were written on the same subject it is possible that Apollodorus may have used more than one in compiling his account. It is also possible that at the end of the play a divinity may have been introduced to tell how the death of Alcmaeon would be avenged.

The Roman poet Attius wrote an *Alcimeo* and an *Alphesiboea*, from both of which a few fragments are preserved.[1] Both Sophocles and Euripides have been claimed as the source from which he drew, but the evidence is not sufficient to settle the question beyond dispute, and the fragments themselves are of little help in interpreting the *Alcmaeon at Psophis*. Much the same may be said of the few fragments of the *Alcumeo* of Ennius[2] which still exist.

IV

The Alcmaeon at Corinth

The story of Alcmaeon at Corinth[3] seems to have been original with Euripides if we may judge from a passage in Apollodorus.[4] He says that according to Euripides Alcmaeon during the period of his madness had two children by Manto, daughter of Tiresias. They were a son Amphilochus and a daughter, Tisiphone. He conveyed them when they were still babies to Creon, king of Corinth, to whom he intrusted them to bring up. Tisiphone eventually grew up to be a very beautiful young woman, and Creon's wife fearing that he might marry her sold her as a slave. Alcmaeon bought her and kept her in his house as a handmaid, not knowing that she was his own daughter. This may well have been the situation at the beginning of the play. Unfortunately Apollodorus is very brief in the rest of his account.

[1] See Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 143 ff.
[2] See Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 17 ff.
[3] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 579 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 534 ff.
[4] *Bibl.* III, 7, 7.

He merely states that Alcmaeon went to Corinth to get back his children and recovered his son as well as his daughter.

The beautiful daughter living unidentified as a servant in her father's household supplies a dramatic situation such as would appeal to Euripides, and it is one that he would handle with skill. It may be, as Hartung thinks, that she accompanied Alcmaeon on his journey to Corinth and that her arrival there caused various complications; but this is conjecture. At least it seems clear that as contrasted with the *Alcmaeon at Psophis*, the *Alcmaeon at Corinth* had a happy ending. Hartung[1] calls attention to a passage in John Malalas[2] in which he states that the Alcmaeon about whom Euripides wrote was king of Athens for two years. Hartung suggests, therefore, that the play may have ended with the command of some divinity that Alcmaeon should go to Athens and become king there; but Alcmaeon was the name of the last of the life archons at Athens, and after he had been in office two years the archonship became annual. Malalas has evidently confused this Alcmaeon with the hero of the play, so that his statement can have no value.

V

The Alcmena

The *Alcmena* is meagerly represented in the extant fragments of Euripides. There are, in fact, but seventeen of them with a total of twenty-seven lines, no one having more than three lines or being especially significant. It is not surprising, therefore, that there has been considerable difference of opinion as to the nature of its plot. Because it is not mentioned in the list of plays on the so-called Albani monument in the Louvre[3] Welcker thought that it might have had another title,[4] and he tried to

[1] *Op. cit.* II, p. 539.

[2] P. 72, ed. Niebuhr.

[3] See p. 16. It can, however, be restored in the list found at Piraeus.

[4] *Op. cit.* pp. 690 ff. It should, however be noted that Welcker believed that there was a genuine as well as a spurious *Rhadamanthys*.

identify it with the *Rhadamanthys*, combining what is known of the two plays in an effort to recover the plot. Hartung[1] was influenced by Welcker's argument, but thought it should be identified with the *Licymnius*, largely because a storm seems to have had an important part in that play, and Plautus, in a passage in the *Rudens*,[2] describing a frightful gale says "*Non ventus fuit, verum Alcumena Euripidi*," implying that a great storm was an incident also in the *Alcmena* of Euripides. R. Engelmann[3] first noticed that there were scenes on two Greek vases which furnished a hint as to the story used by the poet and by means of them, with some help from Apollodorus[4] and Hyginus,[5] he was able to determine the general outlines of the plot. His conclusions, slightly modified have been generally accepted; while those of Welcker and Hartung are now seen to have been erroneous. As worked out by Engelmann the plot seems to have been something like this:

Amphitryon upon returning from his expedition against the Teleboeans and the Taphians finds his wife Alcmena about to give birth to a child. In his anger at her apparent infidelity he threatens to have her burnt alive. She takes refuge at an altar, but is pursued by her husband who has a pyre heaped up immediately in front of her. With the help of an attendant he is setting this on fire when Zeus, who is responsible for Alcmena's condition, having disguised himself as Amphitryon in order to deceive her, answers her appeals for assistance. The Hyades quench the flames and the mother of Heracles is saved.

Of the vases the most interesting is a red-figured bell crater in the British Museum (Plate IV) signed by the painter Python.[6]

[1] *Op. cit.* I, pp. 534 ff.

[2] I, 1, 4.

[3] *Beiträge zu Euripides*, pp. 4 ff.; see also his *Arch. Studien zu den Tragikern*, pp. 52 ff.

[4] *Bibl.* II, 4, 6–8.

[5] *Fab.* 29.

[6] Published in colors by A. S. Murray, *Jour. Hel. Stud.* XI, 1890, pp. 225 ff.; see also Robert, *Arch. Herm.* pp. 276 ff. fig. 212.

PLATE IV.—ALCMENA SAVED BY ZEUS. FROM A CRATER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

It is to be dated, according to Walters,[1] in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. Here we find Alcmena seated on an altar in front of which the pyre is being lighted by Amphitryon and Antenor. To make their identity certain the artist has added their names. Zeus looks down from above on one side and Eos on the other, while the Hyades pour water on the flames. In the background is a rainbow. A similar scene is found on the second vase, a Campanian amphora, also in the British Museum.[2] Engelmann thinks that the quenching of the fire was actually represented on the stage, but that seems improbable. It is likely, however, that these vase paintings were inspired more or less directly by the *Alcmena* of Euripides.[3]

The date of the play is not known.

VI

The Alexander

No explicit statement has come down from antiquity in regard to the plot of the *Alexander*, but it is generally assumed that its outlines are to be found in Hyginus, *Fabula* 91.[4] Aelian[5] records the fact that it was the first play of the tetralogy in which the extant *Troades* was the third, and that it was brought out in the ninety-first Olympiad when Exaenetus of Acragas won the stadium race (415 B.C.). On that occasion a certain Xenocles won the tragic prize and Euripides came second. A scholium to the *Hippolytus* (line 58) comments on the secondary chorus in that play and compares it with the chorus of shepherds in the *Alexander*, thus giving a hint as to the action. If we may judge from a passage in Varro,[6] Ennius followed Euripides in

[1] *Br. Mus. Cat. Vases*, IV, p. 17.

[2] *Ibid.* No. F 193. See Robert, *Arch. Herm.* p. 50, fig. 35.

[3] For a recent discussion of these vases in relation to the plot see Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 242 ff.

[4] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 462 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 233.

[5] *Var. Hist.* II, 8.

[6] *De ling. Lat.* VII, 82.

his *Alexander*, but less than thirty lines of that play are preserved.[1] Of the *Alexander* of Euripides there exist twenty-two fragments with a total of about fifty lines, but these are of no great help in reconstructing the plot. It may have been something like this:

Hecuba, when about to give birth to Paris, dreamed that she had borne a fire-brand. This was interpreted to mean that the child would bring disaster upon its parents. It was, therefore, decided to put it to death, and soon after its birth the infant (Alexander) was given to shepherds for that purpose. The child was, however, secretly preserved and named Paris by the shepherds.[2] All this may have been set forth in the prologue. The infant has now become a youth, but he knows nothing of his royal birth. King Priam is, however, about to hold funeral games commemorating the baby Alexander long supposed to be dead, and slaves from the palace have seized a pet bull belonging to a young shepherd (that is, Paris) to offer it as a prize at the games. He determines to enter the lists and does so, defeating all comers including his brothers, the sons of the king, and recovers his bull. There is great anger at his victory and Deiphobus attacks him with a sword. Paris takes refuge at the altar of Zeus, whereupon Cassandra makes known his identity. If we may judge from Ennius she not only proclaims him to be Alexander, the fire-brand, but foretells the disasters which are to come from him, including his judging between the three goddesses, the coming of the Greek fleet, and the downfall of Troy.[3] But Priam gladly recognizes the son whom he supposed dead and receives him with royal honors.

Such, then, seem to have been the main features of the plot. The *Alexander* would thus belong to that group of plays with a happy ending of which Euripides was so fond. Sophocles is

[1] See Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 19 ff.

[2] According to Apollodorus, *Bibl.* III, 12, 5, the shepherds also gave him the name of Alexander.

[3] See Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 21 ff., lines 48–61.

known to have written a tragedy on the same subject, but only three meagre fragments of it are preserved.

VII

The Alope

The *Alope*[1] is represented today by eight small fragments having a total of thirteen lines. Little can be gathered from them as to the play, but the story is fortunately preserved by Hyginus.[2] It is this. Unknown to her relatives Alope, daughter of Cercyon, king of Eleusis, bore a son to Poseidon. The child was at once exposed, but was suckled by a mare which came upon it. A shepherd discovered the infant and gave it to another shepherd, but kept back the rich clothing in which it was wrapped. This brought on a quarrel between the two which was eventually referred to the king for a decision.[3] He recognized the wrappings as part of a garment belonging to his daughter. Her old nurse was closely questioned and, thoroughly frightened, she revealed to the king that Alope was the mother of the child. He ordered the infant to be exposed again and its mother to be cast into prison to die; but a second time the baby was suckled by the mare. When the shepherds discovered this they recognized the divine origin of the infant. They decided to bring it up and gave it the name of Hippothoon, because of the mare. At a later time when Theseus conquered and slew Cercyon, Hippothoon revealed his origin to him, and Theseus, who also was a son of Poseidon, readily surrendered Cercyon's kingdom to him. Alope, by will of Poseidon, was transformed into a spring.

This was the story which Euripides chose for his plot. He probably followed the outline rather closely, for the narrative of

[1] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 711 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 177 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 249 ff.

[2] *Fab.* 187.

[3] H. Fischl, in *Hermes*, XLIII, 1908, pp. 311 ff., argues that this scene suggested to Menander the somewhat similar scene in his *Epitrepontes*.

Hyginus seems to have been derived from the play, but how much of it was actually covered by the action is not clear. The *Alope*, then, dealt with an incident in the mythical history of Eleusis, and in that respect it resembled the *Suppliants*. It was one of a group of plays written for the glorification of Athens, in which the plots were drawn from local Attic legends.

Part of a red-figured vase preserved at the University of Tubingen has upon it a scene from this story.[1] At the left a young woman is represented holding a torch in either hand and looking at an infant which is being suckled by a mare. The right hand side of the picture is broken away.

The *Alope* seems also to have been known as the *Cercyon*. The date of its production has not been preserved.

VIII

The Andromeda

The *Andromeda*,[2] one of the best known and most admired plays of Euripides, was brought out in 412 B.C. at the same time as the *Helen*. The references to it in ancient authors are numerous. A scholium on line 53 of the *Frogs* of Aristophanes calls it one of the most beautiful plays of Euripides,[3] and this seems to have been the general opinion of it in antiquity. Sophocles wrote a tragedy with the same title, but it did not attain the same distinction and is rarely mentioned in the literature.

The story of Andromeda is familiar from many sources.[4] It is briefly this: Cassiepea, wife of Cepheus king of Ethiopia, had boasted that she, or her daughter (for there are different

[1] See Watzinger, *Griech. Vasen in Tübingen*, p. 56 and pl. XXXIX; also Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 251 f.

[2] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 644 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 344 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 256 ff.

[3] τῶν καλλίστων Εὐριπίδου δραμάτων Ἀνδρομέδα.

[4] Apollodorus, *Bibl.* II, 4, 3 f.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 64; Ovid, *Meta.* IV, 663–764; V, 1–235; Lucian, *Dial. Mar.* 14; Lactantius, IV, 19; V, 1; Eratosthenes, *Catas.* 15 and 17; Schol. to Lycophron, *Alex.* 836, etc.

versions of the tale) was more beautiful than the Nereids. This excited the wrath of Podeidon who sent a flood upon the country and a sea-monster to ravage it. The oracle was consulted and replied that relief could be had only by exposing the king's daughter to be devoured by the monster. She was accordingly fastened to a rock by the sea-shore to await her end. Perseus, who had been on his expedition against the Gorgons, arrived at this time and was promised the maiden's hand if he would save the country by slaying the monster. This he did; but the king declined to give him Andromeda, either because she had previously been betrothed to her uncle, Phineus or Agenor, or for some other reason. But Perseus by showing the head of Medusa turned his enemies to stone and departed accompanied by Andromeda.

This is the story upon which Euripides based his plot. The play probably began with a prologue in iambic trimeter verse in the usual Euripidean manner telling what had transpired up to the beginning of the action. Who delivered this prologue is uncertain. It has usually been assumed that it was Echo, because of a scholium on a passage in the *Thesmophoriazousae*[1] of Aristophanes; but it is more likely to have been some one from the household of the princess, or, perhaps, even Aphrodite. When the play opens Andromeda is seen fastened to the rock, evidently at one side of the stage. After the prologue there must have followed a lyric dialogue of some length between Andromeda and her girl friends, the chorus, in which Echo probably had a part. This is certainly a reasonable inference from the parody in the *Thesmophoriazousae*, where the ridiculous old Mnesilochus tied to a plank makes his absurd appeal.

[1] Line 1065, τοῦ προλόγου τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας εἰσβολή. R. Engelmann, *Arch. Studien zu den Tragikern*, pp. 67 f. thought that the prologue was delivered by Cepheus while his slaves were preparing to fasten Andromeda to the rock. He bases his argument on a hydria in the British Museum which is, however, earlier than the play. For a discussion of this vase see E. Petersen, *Jour. Hel. Stud.* XXIV, 1904, pp. 99–112 and pl. V; also *ibid.* *Die Attische Tragödie als Bild-und Bühnenkunst*, pp. 610 ff. I cannot agree with Welcker, Wecklein and others that the play began with a long lyric monologue.

After this lyric dialogue Perseus with his winged sandals is brought in through the air by means of the μηχανή and at once falls in love with Andromeda, who also falls in love with him. This was an innovation on the part of Euripides who uses it elsewhere; but romantic love as a motive is rare in Greek tragedy. Cepheus solemnly agrees to bestow his daughter upon him if he will kill the monster. This he does, evidently behind the scenes, and then returns to claim his reward (PLATE V). Andromeda is released, but Cepheus refuses to fulfill his promise. This part of the play is obscure. Pearson[1] denies that the incident of Phineus had a part in the *Andromeda* of Euripides and claims it for the play by Sophocles; but Apollodorus, who mentions it, seems to be following Euripides, and Ovid who certainly knew the play recounts the story of the fight at length. We may imagine, then, that Phineus with the connivance of Cepheus and Cassiepea plots to make away with Perseus, but is vanquished by the hero, who, accompanied by his bride, departs for Argos. Very likely a *deus ex machina*, perhaps Athena, perhaps Aphrodite, is introduced to speed the happy couple on their way to Greece.[2]

The *Andromeda* was thus a drama with a happy ending written to interest the audience. There are about ninety-seven lines of it still preserved, besides two choral passages from Aristophanes[3] which must have been more or less like lines in the play. Its popularity is attested not only by these numerous quotations, but by scenes on Greek vases based upon it. Séchan[4] catalogues nine vase paintings and a terra-cotta relief which he thinks go back more or less directly to the *Andromeda* of Euripides. Ennius based his *Andromeda*, of which a few fragments remain,[5] upon the play; and, perhaps, Attius went to the same

[1] *Fragments of Sophocles*, I, p. 79.

[2] For an attempted reconstruction of the plot scene by scene see Wecklein, *Sitzb. der Bayer. Akad.* 1888, pp. 97 f.

[3] *Thes.* 1029–1041 and 1047–1055. On line 1030 the scholiast says πάλιν ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας; on 1034 καὶ τοῦτο ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας; and on 1040 καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας.

[4] *Op. cit.* pp. 258 ff.

[5] Ten lines are preserved. See Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 27 f.

PLATE V.—ABOVE APHRODITE, EROS, PEITHO AND THREE WARRIORS. IN MIDDLE REGISTER ANDROMEDA BOUND TO TWO TREES; AT LEFT CASSIEPEA AND ATTENDANTS, AT RIGHT NURSE AND GUARDS. BELOW PERSEUS SLAYING SEA MONSTER. FROM AN AMPHORA IN NAPLES.

source for his *Andromeda*,[1] but a Sophoclean origin has been claimed for the latter drama.

IX

The Antigone

The *Antigone* of Sophocles has been so much read and so greatly admired both in antiquity and in modern times that it has fixed definitely the story of the unfortunate daughter of Oedipus for the modern reader. It may be recalled that its essential features are these. When the two sons of Oedipus, Polynices and Eteocles, fell by each other's hands, Creon, the king, forbade under pain of death the burial of Polynices, on the ground that he was an invader of his native land. Antigone, moved by her love for her brother, secretly threw dust on his corpse thus performing the burial rite and violating the king's decree. She was arrested and condemned to be immured in a vault. Here she hanged herself. Haemon, the king's son to whom she had been betrothed, overcome by grief killed himself.

There was, however, a different version of the story known to us from Hyginus[2] and evidently followed by certain vase painters who seem to have had scenes from the theatre in mind. According to Hyginus Antigone together with Argia, the wife of Polynices, placed his body on the funeral pyre of Eteocles. They were detected and, although Argia escaped, Antigone was taken before the king who handed her over to his son Haemon to put to death. But Haemon fell in love with her[3] and put her in charge of certain shepherds to take care of, falsely announcing that he had carried out his father's orders. Antigone bore Haemon a son, who when he became old enough went to Thebes to take part in certain athletic games. Here he was recognized by Creon as one of the race of the Sparti from a

[1] Seventeen lines are preserved. See Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 148 ff.

[2] *Fab.* 72.

[3] Robert, *Oidipus*, I, p. 381 rightly rejects the words *cuius sponsa fuerat* as belonging to the other version of the play.

birth-mark which all descendants of the men sprung from the dragon's teeth bore. The truth then came out. Creon was enraged and unyielding, and, although Heracles interceded for him, it was to no purpose and Haemon slew Antigone and himself (Fig. 5).

This is apparently the version of the story which Euripides used for his plot.[1] As it stands in Hyginus there are clearly some elements in it which belong to the version followed by Sophocles, as Robert has shown. These can readily be set aside. What is left may well be Euripidean. It has sometimes been maintained that some later tragic poet like Meletus or Theodectes was the source of Hyginus,[2] but this is very improbable. There is abundant evidence to prove that Hyginus was familiar with the plots of Euripides and it would be surprising if he should overlook or disregard his story of Antigone. At the same time it would be natural to try to combine it with the story of Sophocles.

The idea that Antigone did not at once lose her life upon the discovery of her offense, but that she lived on for years in secret with Haemon is wholly in keeping with the spirit of Euripides. One cannot help thinking of his *Electra* where he varies a well-established story by representing Electra as married to a peasant. The romantic love of Haemon for Antigone which is given as the reason why she was saved is also characteristic. With Euripides, as has been pointed out, the love motive is sometimes prominent.

Some authorities have denied the connection between the story of Hyginus and Euripides largely because of a passage in the Argument to the *Antigone* of Sophocles, which is attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium. This states[3] that the plot is

[1] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 563 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 421 ff.; Robert, *op. cit.* pp. 381 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 274 ff.; Paton, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.* XII, pp. 268 ff.; Huddilston, *Amer. Jour. Arch.* III, 1899, pp. 183 ff.

[2] See the discussion in Séchan, *op. cit.* p. 289.

[3] κεῖται ἡ μυθοποιία καὶ παρὰ Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἀντιγόνῃ· πλὴν ἐκεῖ φωραθεῖσα μετὰ τοῦ Αἵμονος δίδοται πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν καὶ τέκνον τίκτει τὸν Μαίονα.

FIGURE 5.—HERACLES INTERCEDES FOR ANTIGONE. FROM AN APULIAN AMPHORA AT RUVO

also found in the *Antigone* of Euripides except that there when Antigone was detected she was married to Haemon and bore him a son, Maeon. Furthermore a scholium on line 1350 of the *Antigone* of Sophocles[1] says that that play differs from the *Antigone* of Euripides because there when she was detected, because of the love of Haemon, she was married to him. This was just the reverse of what happened in Sophocles. In both of these passages the thought is very much condensed. It is out of the question that in any play Antigone should be given in marriage by her uncle at the very time when she had been detected violating his decree. In both cases the writers are merely stating what seem to them to be important points of difference. But the passages are valuable evidence for the *Antigone* of Euripides. They imply a happy ending to the play, which seems to be confirmed by the vase paintings already alluded to, where Heracles has a prominent part.[2] Heracles, too, is mentioned by Hyginus; but the unhappy ending which he gives to his story is clearly drawn from the other version. Heracles cannot be imagined as intervening unsuccessfully anywhere.

The plot of the *Antigone* of Euripides, then, may be reconstructed with some probability as follows. The action of the play is supposed to begin when the boy, Maeon, has become old enough to enter the games at Thebes. In the prologue, which may have been spoken by Antigone, the poet set forth the earlier part of the story, that Haemon appointed to kill Antigone had fallen in love with her and rescued and married her. They had lived in secret, but now their son Maeon has come to Thebes to take part in the games. The events which led up to his identification by Creon, probably by means of the mark of a lance-head which all of his race bore can only be conjectured. Haemon and Antigone are arrested and on the point of being

[1] It reads διαφέρει τῆς Εὐριπίδου Ἀντιγόνης αὕτη, ὅτι φωραθεῖσα ἐκείνη διὰ τὸν Αἵμονος ἔρωτα ἐξεδόθη πρὸς γάμον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοὐναντίον.

[2] See particularly the discussions of Séchan, Paton and Huddilston noted above.

put to death when Heracles intervenes, not as a god, but as a mortal, and brings about their pardon by Creon.

Such may have been the general character of the plot. The extant fragments are all short, the longest consisting of five lines, and they amount all together to but thirty-nine lines. They give very little help towards reconstructing the plot. Under these conditions nothing further can be said as to the way the play developed. Its date is unknown.

X

The Antiope

The *Antiope* of Euripides was brought out shortly after the *Andromeda* which we know to have been produced in 412 B.C.[1] The play belonged to the same class as the *Ion*, that is, in it the poet sought to interest his audience by various tragic situations and then made all end happily.[2] The plot is known from several sources. Thus Apollodorus,[3] the scholiast to a passage in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius[4] and Hyginus,[5] who mentions Euripides, all give it with slight differences of detail. It is as follows.

Nycteus, king of Boeotia, had a beautiful daughter, Antiope, with whom Zeus had a secret intrigue. When her father discovered that she was about to give birth to a child he threatened to punish her and she fled to Sicyon where Epopeus married her. Nycteus in the meantime had killed himself after first bidding his successor Lycus punish Antiope. Lycus marched against Sicyon, killed Epopeus and carried off Antiope in chains. At

[1] See Schol. to Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 53 διὰ τί δὲ μὴ ἄλλο τι τῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων καὶ καλῶν, Ὑψιπύλης, Φοινισσῶν, Ἀντιόπης.

[2] For a recent discussion of it see Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 291 ff. Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 811 ff. and Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 415 ff. wrote before the discovery of the papyrus fragments of the play. All the fragments are published by von Arnim, *Supplementum Euripideum*, pp. 9 ff.

[3] *Bibl.* III, 5, 5.

[4] IV, 1090.

[5] *Fab.* 8.

Eleutherae she gave birth to twin sons who were exposed on the mountain. According to another version of the story Amphion and Zethus, the two boys, were born on Mount Cithaeron while Antiope was fleeing to Sicyon. At any rate she was made prisoner and given over to Dirce, the wife of Lycus, who treated her very cruelly. One day, however, her bonds became loose of their own accord and she escaped to the hut where her sons were living. They did not know her and were about to give her up

FIGURE 6.—AT THE LEFT, DIRCE DRAGGED BY THE BULL; AT THE RIGHT, LYCUS SEIZED BY AMPHION AND ZETHUS. FROM A CRATER IN BERLIN

to Dirce when the herdsman who had found them as infants made known to them that Antiope was their mother. Dirce was punished by being tied to a bull and so destroyed. Lycus, too, was sent for and about to be killed when Hermes intervened and saved him (Fig. 6), but bade him surrender his kingdom to Amphion and Zethus.

The action of the *Antiope* probably began when the sons of Antiope had grown to manhood. Her earlier history must have

been told in the prologue. At the conclusion Hermes was brought in as a *deus ex machina* to complete the happy ending.

There are altogether about two hundred lines of the play preserved. Of these, two passages, one of twenty-seven lines some of which are badly broken, and the other of eighty-nine lines were recovered from a papyrus found at Gourob in 1889.[1] They come from the end of the play and contain part of the dialogue between Amphion and Zethus with Lycus and the commands of Hermes. Two groups of lines, though not consecutive, from the early part of the play have also been reconstructed from various sources. The *Antiope* was imitated by Pacuvius, sixteen small fragments of whose *Antiopa* are still preserved.[2]

XI

The Archelaus

The *Archelaus*[3] was one of the last plays written by Euripides. There is every reason to believe that it was composed by him at Aegae in Macedonia when he was visiting the king, Archelaus II. That statement is, in fact, made in the *Life* of Euripides and it is confirmed by other evidence. The grammarian Diomedes, to be sure, makes the statement that when the king asked Euripides to write a tragedy about him he declined to do so on account of the nature of tragedy and the fear that something unfortunate might happen to the king.[4] This statement, too, may be true, as has been shown by Ridgeway. Euripides did write an *Archelaus* for him, but it was not a historical drama and it had no immediate connection with the ruler whose guest he was. It was, instead, about one of his mythological ancestors,

[1] *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, I, pp. 1–12; pls. I–II.

[2] Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 75 ff.

[3] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 698 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 558 ff.; Ridgeway *Class. Quart.* XX, 1926, pp. 1 ff.

[4] See Nauck, *Euripides*, III, p. 55.

the founder of the dynasty.[1] The plot is preserved by Hyginus[2] and is as follows.

Archelaus, son of Temenus, king of Argos, and grandson of Heracles,[3] was exiled from Argos by his brothers. He went to Macedonia to the court of king Cisseus who at that time was hard pressed by his enemies. Cisseus promised the young man that he would give him his daughter in marriage and his kingdom if he would save him. Archelaus, by virtue of his descent from Heracles, defeated the enemy in a single battle and demanded his reward. The king, however, at the instigation of his followers refused to bestow it and planned to bring about the death of his preserver. He ordered a pit to be dug, filled with charcoal and set on fire, and then had light branches strewn over the place to conceal it. Archelaus was to be thrown into this pit; but a slave informed the hero of the plot and he sent word to Cisseus that he wished to speak to him in private. Then, when they were at a distance from the king's guard, he seized him and cast him into the pit. In this way Cisseus was destroyed and Archelaus obliged to flee for his life. But an oracle of Apollo directed him to follow a she-goat and establish a settlement. This he did, founding the town of Aegae, named for the goat. It was at this town, which had become the capital of Macedonia, that the play was written and produced.

These, then, are the general outlines of the plot. As Ridgeway points out the founder of the family was not named Archelaus, but Caranus or Perdiccas according to different authorities. Euripides, however, out of compliment to the king may have called him Archelaus, that is "leader of the people;" and at the same time there may have been a local tradition at Aegae which has not come down to us that such was the founder's name.

In one of the extant fragments (No. 230) we get a hint as to

[1] In *The Macedonian Tetralogy of Euripides* (1920) pp. 28 ff. R. J. Walker tries to prove that the play really was concerned with Archelaus II, but his arguments are unconvincing.

[2] *Fab.* 219.

[3] According to another tradition he was the great-great-grandson of Heracles.

the nature of the prologue.[1] The story of the founding of Argos seems to have been told in it, and very likely the history of the family of Archelaus up to the time of the opening of the play; but at just what point the dramatic action began cannot now be determined. One might suppose that it would logically start with the victory of Archelaus, but some of the fragments seem to indicate that the combat had a place somewhere in the early scenes. In another fragment quoted by Dionysius[2] without naming the play (No. 231) mention is made of Cisseus and of fire.

The *Archelaus* seems to have become a popular play if we may judge by the number of quotations from it still extant. There are thirty-seven of them, if we omit No. 229, and they have a total of eighty-four lines. In addition a piece of papyrus with sixteen broken lines has been identified with the help of Fragment 247 as belonging to it. This fragment, which comes from Oxyrhynchus and dates from the second or third century A.D. is further evidence of the popularity of the *Archelaus* in later times.

XII

The Auge

The plot of the *Auge*[3] is difficult to reconstruct because the ancient authors to whom we must go as our sources are contradictory in their statements. Except for its most important feature, namely the offense of Heracles which serves as the starting point in the story, no two agree; and it is not at all

[1] Fragment 229 quoted by Aristophanes in the *Frogs* (1206 ff.) also seems to belong to the prologue; but a scholium on the passage says that Aristarchus denied that it was to be found in the *Archelaus*, unless that play had been revised. Acting upon this hint some authorities have claimed that there were two editions of the play.

[2] *De Comp. Verb.* Vol. V, p. 203, ed. Reiske. The fragment was recognized by Musgrave as belonging to the *Archelaus*.

[3] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 763 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 383 ff.; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Analecta Euripidea*, pp. 186 ff.

clear which version Euripides followed. The story with its various developments is this:

One night Heracles in a fit of drunkenness made an attack upon Auge, daughter of king Aleus and priestess of Athena, not knowing who she was. As a result she gave birth to a son, Telephus, whom she hid in the temple precinct. So says Apollodorus.[1] According to Hyginus[2] the child was born on Mount Parthenius, where he was exposed. The land was, however, wasted by a pestilence because the sanctuary of Athena had been profaned, and Aleus seeking the cause made an investigation, learned about the child and ordered it exposed on Mount Parthenius. Here it was suckled by a doe and later found by shepherds. The king then gave Auge into the charge of Nauplius telling him to sell her in a foreign land; but Nauplius gave her to Teuthras, king of Teuthrania, who made her his wife. Hyginus says that Auge fled to Mysia where she was adopted as a daughter by Teuthras. Strabo,[3] however, expressly states that according to Euripides Auge and her babe were put into a chest and cast into the sea and that the chest came to land at the mouth of the Caïcus where Teuthras made Auge his wife and treated Telephus as a son. Here again there is another version of the story recorded by Hyginus,[4] that Telephus grown to manhood in Arcadia came to Mysia at the command of an oracle seeking some trace of his mother. Teuthras, who was hard pressed by an enemy, promised the young warrior that he would give him his kingdom and the hand of Auge, whom he regarded as a daughter, in marriage if he would save him. Telephus did this, and the marriage was about to take place when his relationship with Auge was discovered. With this latter part of the story, suitable as it is for a tragic plot, the *Auge* of Euripides seems not to have been concerned. The few bits of information which we have

[1] *Bibl.* II, 7, 4.
[2] *Fab.* 99.
[3] III, 69, p. 615.
[4] *Fab.* 100.

about the play imply that he used the earlier part of the story. Aristophanes in the *Frogs*[1] scores him for representing women bearing children in temples, and the scholiast on the passage says that the reference is to the *Auge*. The plot may have been something like this:

The scene was laid at the temple of Athena at the time that the land was afflicted by the pestilence. Auge may have spoken the prologue. In one of the extant fragments (No. 268) she evidently takes the goddess to task for being so offended at her, when she herself takes pleasure in the bloody wreckage of the battle-field. The chorus probably consisted of women attendants in the temple. Auge's guilt is discovered and her punishment decreed, though she makes a spirited defense before her father (Fragment 277). Then, if the statement of Strabo is correct she was put into the chest with her child and cast into the sea. How the play ended is not plain. Fragment 267 seems to have been spoken by Heracles, and it is hard to see how he could have been introduced except as a rescuer. The play may have concluded with his rescue of Auge and her babe whom he may later have discovered to be his own son.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf,[2] upon a suggestion which he got from Moses Chorenensis quoted by Meineke,[3] argues that Heracles, at the time of his attack upon Auge, gave her a ring and that returning to the land at the critical moment saw the ring and so identified and saved Auge. In this *dénouement* he is followed by Gilbert Murray;[4] but there is no evidence to connect it with Euripides. Moreover the story of the ring is not in keeping with the character of Heracles and savors of the New Comedy. Meineke is more likely to be right in imagining the writer to have in mind the *Auge* of Philyllius or of some other comic poet. The exposure of the child on the mountain and its

[1] Line 1080.
[2] *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 189.
[3] *Frag. Com. Gr.* V, p. 57.
[4] *Euripides translated into English Rhyming Verse*, p. 321.

being nursed by a doe may well have been mentioned by Euripides, for he was fond of giving derivations for names and "Telephus" was supposed to indicate "one who was suckled by a doe."[1]

The *Auge* is scantily represented by extant fragments. There are but seventeen with a total of twenty-eight lines. Parts of the story served Aeschylus and Sophocles as subjects for tragedies, and Euripides himself used it again in his *Telephus* which was famous. It was represented in the field of sculpture on the inner reliefs of the great altar of Zeus at Pergamon, now preserved in part in Berlin. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf[2] would date it after 415 B.C.

XIII

The Autolycus

The *Autolycus*[3] was a satyr drama and, although little of it is preserved, we may be sure of what it was about from a statement made by Tzetzes[4] that in the play Euripides told the whole story of his hero. What this was we learn from Hyginus.[5] Hermes endowed his son Autolycus with the gift of being a most expert thief, and at the same time gave him the power to escape being caught. Furthermore it was made possible for him so to transform his plunder that it could not be identified. When he had repeatedly raided the herds of Sisyphus, the latter put a mark on the hoofs of his cattle in order to catch the thief, and he soon discovered the missing animals in the possession of Autolycus. He was thus enabled to recover his property. Such is the outline of the story. There was probably little plot to the play as Euripides wrote it, but much fun in the various devices employed by one rogue to outwit the other.

[1] That is, from θήλη and ἔλαφος.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 150.
[3] Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 126 f.
[4] *Chil.* VIII, 459.
[5] *Fab.* 201.

But three fragments of the *Autolycus* have come down to modern times, two of them consisting of single lines and the third of twenty-eight lines. This last fragment is quoted by Athenaeus[1] together with passages from other authors to show the gluttony of athletes. It runs as follows:

Though ills past number may be found in Greece
The athletes as a class are worst of all.
For first they have no knowledge how to live
As men should live, nor could they learn the way.
For how would one surpass his father's wealth
When to his jaws and stomach he's a slave?
Nor, on the other hand, can they be poor
And put up with their fortunes; for they are
Not used to goodly habits. Hence they find
It hard to change to a stern way of life.
In youth they pass, the darlings of the town,
Conspicuous; but when bitter age comes on
They are like old coats which have lost their nap.
Now this Greek custom I do not approve,
When they hold meetings for such men as these
And honor useless pleasures at a feast.
What man that wrestled well, who swift of foot,
Who lifting discus, or upon the jaw
Of his opponent striking a good blow
His country aided when he'd won the crown?
Will they fight with the discus in their hands?
Or with their fists smite through the hostile shields
And hurl their foes back from their native land?
No man with weapon near has such a thought.
The wise and good with garlands should be crowned,
And he who thinks what's finest for the state,
Himself discreet and righteous; and the man
Who by his words keeps evil deeds away
Removing fights and quarrels. Deeds like these
Are to this city and to all the Greeks
Of benefit.

[1] X, p. 413 C.

It has been suggested by Hartung that the words of this passage were addressed to Heracles. This may well have been the case, for according to Apollodorus[1] on at least one occasion Heracles was accused of a theft of cattle committed by Autolycus.

The play is referred to by Athenaeus as the "first" *Autolycus*,[2] implying that Euripides wrote more than one drama with that name, but there is no other evidence on that point and the soundness of the text of the passage has been questioned. Nothing is known of its date.

XIV

The Bellerophon

Euripides wrote two tragedies in which Bellerophon was the hero, the play which bears his name and the *Stheneboea*. The plot of the latter has been preserved, but that of the former is very obscure and hard to outline, though the poet no doubt got his suggestion in each case from the story told in the Sixth Book of the *Iliad*. Various attempts have been made to reconstruct the plot of the *Bellerophon*,[3] but no one of them can be regarded as altogether satisfactory. The twenty-eight fragments of the play which are preserved, amounting in all to 112 lines, do not afford much help. They are for the most part of a moralizing nature and show the hero full of melancholy. This is in keeping with the story in the *Iliad* where the insanity of Bellerophon is hinted at.

One incident certainly had a place in the play namely his famous attempt to fly to heaven on his winged horse Pegasus, and his fall. This is alluded to in the Sixth Isthmian Ode of Pindar;[4] and a scholium to a passage in the *Iliad*[5] tells how

[1] *Bibl.* II, 6, 2.

[2] ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Αὐτολύκῳ.

[3] E. g. by Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 785 ff.; by Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 388 ff.; by H. A. Fischer, *Bellerophon*, pp. 50 ff.; by Wecklein, *Sitzb. bayer. Akad.* 1888, pp. 103 ff.

[4] Lines 45 f.

[5] VI,155, quoted by Nauck.

Zeus sent a gadfly which bit Pegasus and caused him to throw Bellerophon off. He fell upon the Alean plain in Lycia and wandered about in crippled condition. In the *Peace* of Aristophanes[1] Trygaeus on his beetle is warned not to fall off and furnish Euripides with the subject for a tragedy. Upon which the scholiast says that he is hinting at Bellerophon. In the *Acharnians*,[2] too, there is a reference to the rags which the lame Bellerophon wore, and the scholiast there says that Bellerophon was brought upon the stage after his fall from Pegasus wearing wretched garments. Pollux[3] commenting on the μηχανή says that it was used to introduce gods and heroes in mid-air, like Bellerophon and Perseus. There is still another passage which may have a bearing on the plot. An epigram at Cyzicus quoted in the *Palatine Anthology*[4] refers to Bellerophon after his fall being rescued by his son Glaucus when he was about to be slain by Megapenthes, the son of Proetus. With these hints as a basis we may imagine the plot somewhat as follows.

The scene was laid in Lycia. Bellerophon, full of melancholy at the death of his children and the other misfortunes which have befallen him, is determined to fly to heaven on his winged horse to demand of the gods the reason for his persecution. He knows that he has been a good man and that he does not deserve to fare so ill. This may have been set forth in the prologue. Pegasus is brought in and Bellerophon mounts upon him and is carried through the air by means of the μηχανή.[5] He disappears from sight and a messenger enters and tells of his fall. The crippled Bellerophon is brought in by means of the eccyclema, and from it speaks his last words to the chorus, who were probably men of Lycia. Some god, perhaps Hermes, may then have been

[1] Lines 146 ff.
[2] Lines 426 f.
[3] IV, 128.
[4] III, 15.
[5] Aristophanes seems to be making fun of this scene when he transports Trygaeus through the air on his beetle.

introduced who ordered the dying man to be carried within,[1] and explained that Pegasus was destined in the future to bear the lightning attached to the chariot of Zeus.[2]

Such may have been the plot of the *Bellerophon* in its general outlines. The extant fragments would seem to be in agreement with it. There is no place in it for an attack on the hero's life by Megapenthes after his fall from Pegasus and his rescue by Glaucus; but that incident may have been introduced as a scene early in the play, not after his fall, as stated in the *Anthology*. Our knowledge of the tragedy must, however, remain vague until more evidence is brought to light. The reference to it in the *Acharnians* shows that it was brought out before 425 B.C.

XV

The Busiris

Three small fragments, two of them consisting of a single word and the third of two lines, are all that remain of the satyr drama *Busiris*. The story on which the plot was based is a familiar one and is related by Apollodorus.[3] A certain mythical king of Egypt named Busiris, when barrenness had afflicted the land for nine years, consulted a soothsayer from Cyprus who told him that he could secure relief only by the sacrifice of a stranger to Zeus every year. The king thereupon began by sacrificing the soothsayer. In the course of time Heracles came to the land and was duly brought before the king for sacrifice; but he broke his bonds and quickly put an end to Busiris and his son. The subject is one that would furnish abundant material for a farce and no doubt Euripides made the most of it.

Some idea of the appeal which this story made to the Greek

[1] Fragment 312, *κομίζετ' εἴσω τόνδε τὸν δυσδαίμονα*, is quoted by the scholiast on the *Knights* of Aristophanes 1249 as coming from the *Bellerophon* of Euripides.

[2] Fragment 314, *ὑφ' ἅρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπηφορεῖ*, is similarly said by the scholiast on the *Peace*, 722 to have come from the *Bellerophon*.

[3] *Bibl.* II, 5, 11.

PLATE VI.—HERACLES AND BUSIRIS. FROM A CAERETAN HYDRIA IN VIENNA

sense of humor may be obtained from the well-known scene on a vase from Caere now in Vienna (Plate VI). Here the strong man of antiquity is represented in ridiculous fashion putting an end to the king's followers six at a time. The vase dates from too early a period to have been inspired by the play, but it shows a popular conception of the tale among the Greeks of an earlier generation. It is probable that Euripides represented Busiris on the stage just as absurdly.

Hartung[1] thought that the *Busiris* and the *Lamia* were to be identified, but there is not sufficient evidence to prove it, and it seems improbable. Its date is unknown.

XVI

The Chrysippus

The *Chrysippus* of Euripides is represented today by six scattered fragments of no special significance having a total of twenty-two lines. One fragment (No. 836) is a philosophical passage of fourteen anapaestic lines on the origin of life in the world and its return to its source. This is really put together from two separate quotations on the evidence of Vitruvius,[2] who sees in it the influence of Anaxagoras. From such scanty material very little can be gleaned as to the plot of the play. More, however, may be obtained from other sources.[3]

Many years ago Hartung argued that the plot was to be found in the *Moralia*[4] of Plutarch, where the following story is quoted as coming from the *Pelopidae* of Dositheus. Pelops had two sons by his wife Hippodamia, Atreus and Thyestes, and one, Chrysippus, of whom he was especially fond, by the nymph Danais. Laius, who had come from Thebes, tried to carry off

[1] *Op. cit.* II, pp. 360 ff.

[2] VIII, praef. 1. See Nauck, *op. cit.* pp. 235 f.

[3] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 533 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 135 ff.; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *De trag. Graec. frag. comment.* pp. 8 f.; Robert, *Oidipus*, I, pp. 400 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 311 ff.; Zielinski, *Mnemosyne*, 1924, pp. 193 ff.

[4] P. 313 E, *Paral.* ch. XXXIII.

this boy, but was caught by Atreus and Thyestes. Pelops, however, forgave Laius. Then Hippodamia tried to persuade her two sons to kill Chrysippus knowing that Pelops intended to make him his successor on the throne. Failing in this she stole the sword of Laius at night and wounded Chrysippus with it leaving the sword behind. It was recognized and Laius was in great danger when the dying youth told what had really happened. After his death Hippodamia was banished.

The Dositheus who is quoted as authority for this story is not otherwise known. Hartung thinks that he is a fictitious person and that Euripides is really meant. A little more is to be found in Apollodorus,[1] who says that Laius was banished from Thebes by Amphion and Zethus, that he was well received by Pelops, and that he taught the boy Chrysippus to drive a chariot. According to a scholium on the *Phoenissae* of Euripides (line 1760) Chrysippus kills himself; while a scholium on the *Iliad*[2] makes him die at the hands of Atreus and Thyestes. It is thus seen that there are variants in the story.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf follows Hartung in believing that we have the plot of the play in the passage in the *Moralia*. In that case it would fall into two parts, the first concerned with the abduction of Chrysippus by Laius, and the second with his death at the hands of Hippodamia and the accusation of Laius. It would thus resemble some of the inferior plays such as the *Andromache* or the *Hecuba*, where there are two actions. Robert, on the other hand, denies that the plot was of such a character. He thinks that it was concerned solely with the abduction of Chrysippus by Laius, and that the play ended with the suicide of the youth whose dead body was brought before the spectators. The curse of Pelops was the source of the troubles which later befell the house of Laius.

There is no way of deciding which of these views is right. There is certainly not sufficient evidence to disprove the older

[1] *Bibl.* III, 5, 5.

[2] Venetus A on *Iliad* II, 105.

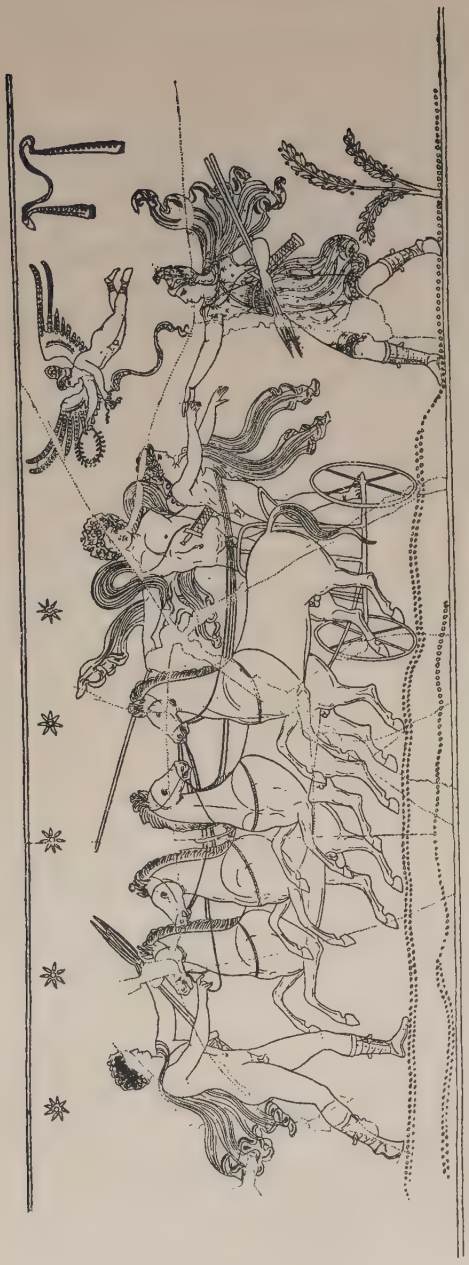

FIGURE 7.—LAIUS CARRYING OFF CHRYSIPPUS. FROM AN AMPHORA IN BERLIN

theory which is quite as likely to be correct as the more recent view of Robert. The Roman tragic poet Attius wrote a Latin version of the *Chrysippus* of which five little fragments remain.[1] In one of these (No. 3) an unnamed character says, "If he survives I will give him Sparta and Amyclae." If a similar line existed in the *Chrysippus* of Euripides it would be an argument in favor of the plot as set forth by Hartung, for if uttered by Pelops it would furnish Hippodamia a motive for her crime.

The story of the abduction of Chrysippus evidently made an impression on the workers in the minor arts. The vase painters especially found it a striking subject for the decoration of their vases and it is to be found on no less than three which are still preserved. It appears likewise on the well-known Barberini cista from Praeneste. These four representations vary somewhat in detail, but they may all have been inspired by the tragedy of Euripides as Séchan[2] believes. Unfortunately they do not help us in a reconstruction of the plot. The scene depicted on an amphora in Berlin is reproduced in Figure 7.[3] Wilamowitz-Moellendorf[4] dates the play between 411 and 406 B.C.

XVII

The Cresphontes

The *Cresphontes*[5] was a famous play in antiquity, but unfortunately there remain of it today only eleven fragments amounting to thirty-three lines, not enough to give much assistance for its reconstruction. A general outline of the plot may, however,

[1] See Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 170 f.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 314 ff. where these vases are discussed. For the design of the Barberini cista see *Mon. d. Inst.* VIII, 29 and Robert, *Oidipus*, p. 403.

[3] From *Jb. Arch. Inst.* 1914, pl. XII.

[4] *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 158.

[5] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 828 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 47 ff.; Wecklein, *Festschrift für Ludwig Urlichs*, pp. 1 ff.

be recovered from Hyginus[1] with some help from other sources. It is this:

A certain king of Messenia, Polyphontes, had killed his predecessor together with all his children but one, and then taken possession of his kingdom and his wife, Merope. The latter had, however, saved her infant son, Cresphontes, and sent him safely away to a friend in Aetolia. Polyphontes tried to get possession of the boy and even promised a reward to any one who would kill him. When Cresphontes had become a youth he returned to his native land in disguise hoping to avenge his father's death. He claimed that he had killed Merope's son and demanded the reward. Polyphontes was delighted at this news and asked the youth to remain at the palace until he could question him further, when the reward would be paid. Cresphontes assented, but being tired he fell asleep. Merope perceiving this, and being convinced that he was, as he claimed to be, the slayer of her son determines to kill him. She secures an axe and is on the point of striking the fatal blow when the old man who had been the means of communication between mother and son recognizes the youth and saves his life.[2] Later on Crephontes slays Polyphontes and recovers his kingdom.

There were evidently some variants from the story followed by Euripides current in antiquity. Thus Hyginus gives Cresphontes as the name of the murdered king and Telephontes as the name of Merope's son. Apollodorus calls the boy Aepytus,[3] as does Pausanias.[4]

The play was especially famous for its recognition scene. It is praised by Aristotle in the *Poetics*,[5] and Plutarch[6] tells of the excitement in the theatre when Merope is about to strike the

[1] *Fab.* 137 and 184.

[2] For the staging of this scene see Dörpfeld und Reisch, *Das Griechische Theater*, pp. 205 f., and Robert's note, *Hermes*, XXXII, 1897, p. 428, n. 1.

[3] *Bibl.* II, 8, 5.

[4] IV, 3, 8.

[5] P. 1454 a, 5 f.

[6] *Moral.* p. 998 E.

fatal blow, and the anxiety of the audience lest the old man should not arrive in time and the boy be hurt.

The *Cresphontes* was one of the earlier plays of Euripides, but its exact date is not known. It has been conjectured that it was brought out between 430 and 425 B.C. The Latin poet Ennius also wrote a *Cresphontes*.

XVIII

The Cretans

In the *Cretans* Euripides chose a peculiar subject for a tragedy, the insane love of Pasiphaë, wife of Minos, for a bull.[1] The story as told by Apollodorus[2] is that after the death of Asterius, Minos laid claim to the kingdom of Crete declaring that he had received it from the gods, and as proof of his assertion said that whatever he prayed for would be accomplished. In sacrificing to Poseidon he prayed that a bull might appear from the sea and he vowed that he would sacrifice it to the god. Poseidon did send the bull; but Minos placed it among his herds and sacrificed another. The god by way of punishment caused Pasiphaë to fall in love with the bull. The result of this monstrous passion was the Minotaur.

This is the story which Euripides used as the basis for his tragedy. Just how much of it he employed is not clear. Part of it must have been told in the prologue. John Malalas, quoted by Hartung,[3] regards Taurus as a man (a notary!) with whom Pasiphaë had an intrigue. He says that Minos punished her by shutting her up in a small room with two maid servants where she died. Daedalus and Icarus who had assisted her both died violent deaths. He then adds that "Euripides had a play about

[1] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 801 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 103 ff.; G. Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 322 ff.; Schubart und Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Griech. Dicterfrag.* V, 2, pp. 73 ff.

[2] *Bibl.* III, 1, 4.

[3] *Op. cit.* I, pp. 103 f.

Pasiphaë."[1] But we now know that in Euripides Taurus was not a man but a bull.

In 1907 Schubart and Wilamowitz-Moellendorf published a papyrus fragment of the *Cretans* consisting of fifty-two lines. The greater part of it is a speech by Pasiphaë who acknowledges her guilt and pleads in her defense before Minos. She declares that she was not responsible for her act, but that it was due to the god, and that Minos was really to blame because he had not sacrificed the bull from the sea. The chorus, consisting of Mystae, or priests of Idaean Zeus, intercede for her, but in vain. Minos orders her to be seized together with her female accomplice and imprisoned to await death.

Previous to the publication of the papyrus but two fragments of the *Cretans* were known, both of them lyric. One consists of a single line cited by Aristophanes in the *Frogs*;[2] the other of twenty lines from the parados quoted by Porphyrius.[3] How the play came to an end is not clear; but the poet evidently represented Pasiphaë as under the control of Poseidon and so not responsible for her actions. She is in other words suffering from a form of insanity. Her death was the natural outcome.

The date is unknown.

XIX

The Cretan Women

The plot of the *Cretan Women* is very obscure. One fact alone seems assured and that is that it was concerned with Aerope, daughter of Catreus and wife of Atreus; but with what part of her story cannot be told. From the title one might infer that the play got its name from the chorus; but that does not necessarily follow as Catreus had two daughters, Aerope and Clymene, both of whom had disgraceful adventures. Hartung,[4]

[1] περὶ δὲ τῆς Πασιφάης ἐξέθετο δρᾶμα ὁ Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητής.

[2] Line 1356; upon which the scholiast says τοὺς Κρῆτας λέγει. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ Κρητῶν Εὐριπίδου.

[3] *De abst.* IV, 19.

[4] *Op. cit.* I, pp. 170 ff.

who believed that the *Cressae* was another name for the *Thyestes*, tried to reconstruct the plot by combining what is known of both plays; but the *Thyestes* is named as an independent play in the list of tragedies found at Piraeus, while the *Cressae* appears in the list in Paris. This certainly indicates that they were different dramas.

In line 849 of the *Frogs* of Aristophanes Euripides is charged with "collecting Cretan monodies and introducing unholy marriages," upon which the scholiast says that the reference is to Aerope in the *Cretan Women*. Twice Aerope was detected in scandalous escapades, first with one of her father's slaves and later in her life with Thyestes, her husband's brother. After her first offense her father gave her to Nauplius with orders to cast her into the sea to be devoured by the fishes, but Nauplius instead of doing so gave her to Pleisthenes. This we learn from a scholium on the *Ajax* of Sophocles (l. 1297) where it is stated that the story is told in the *Cretan Women* of Euripides. According to Apollodorus[1] Catreus gave Aerope and Clymene to Nauplius to sell abroad; but Pleisthenes married Aerope and Nauplius Clymene. M. Croiset[2] thinks the plot of the play was concerned with the early history of Aerope; but a scholium on the *Wasps* of Aristophanes (l. 763) shows that Atreus was a character in the play, and this could not have been the case if Euripides had confined himself to the earlier part of her story. It would look as if the poet had used both parts of the story, perhaps the first part in the prologue. In the absence of specific information nothing more satisfactory can be said about the plot.

The *Cressae* was one of the early plays being brought out in 438 B.C. at the same time as the *Alcmaeon at Psophis*, the *Telephus* and the *Alcestis*. Eleven fragments with a total of twenty-four lines survive.

[1] *Bibl.* II, 1, 5.
[2] *R. de. Phil.* XXXIV, 1910, p. 220.

XX

The Danaë

The story of Danaë is one of the most famous as well as one of the most familiar of the old Greek legends. One might, therefore, suppose that it would not be particularly difficult to reconstruct the plot of the lost tragedy of that name by Euripides. As a matter of fact that drama is most obscure.[1] Briefly the story which the poet used is this:[2]

Acrisius, king of Argos, warned by an oracle that a son which his daugher Danaë would bear would kill him, had her confined in a chamber of stone, or bronze—there are different versions. There Zeus visited her in the form of a shower of gold and became the father of Perseus. When it became known that Danaë had borne a son, Acrisius in a rage had mother and child put into a chest and cast into the sea. But the sea was calmed by Zeus and the chest gently wafted to the island of Seriphus, where it was found by the fisherman Dictys, who conveyed Danaë and her babe to Polydectes, the king. The latter married Danaë and put the infant Perseus into the hands of the attendants in the temple of Athena to bring up. Some years later when Acrisius learned what had happened he set out for Seriphus to demand that Danaë and her child, now a youth, should be given up to him; but Polydectes interceded for them, and Perseus gave his grandfather a pledge that he would not slay him. The return home of Acrisius was delayed by bad weather during which time Polydectes died. Funeral games were held in his honor and in the course of them a discus hurled by Perseus was turned aside by the wind, struck Acrisius on the head and killed him. In this way the prophecy was fulfilled. Afterwards Perseus returned with Danaë to Argos and became king.

As one looks over the story the latter part of it seems best fitted for a drama. One might imagine the scene as laid at the

[1] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 636 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 86 ff.

[2] See Hyginus, *Fab.* 63.

court of Polydectes in Seriphus at a time when it was known that the powerful king Acrisius was approaching. Danaë, full of apprehension may have spoken the prologue and in it told her early history. Acrisius with his retainers may then have entered and from that point on the plot may have followed the course of the story related by Hyginus. The account of the fatal discus throw would be given by a messenger, and the command to return to Argos might come from the *deus ex machina*. But this is all conjecture.

In one of the manuscripts of Euripides,[1] after the *Iphigenia at Aulis* there are sixty-five lines which purport to be the beginning of the *Danaë*. They are, however, spurious and not older than Byzantine times.

The actual fragments of the *Danaë* number but fifteen with a total of seventy-two lines. No one of them is especially significant. It is not known when the play was first brought out, but it was before 411 B.C. and very likely some time before. It seems to have been much admired in antiquity.

XXI

The Dictys

The *Dictys* of Euripides was another play dealing with the legend of Danaë and Perseus. The details of the plot are lacking, but enough of the story is preserved by Apollodorus[2] and others to enable us to make a plausible conjecture as to its nature.[3]

The scene was laid on the island of Seriphus, where Danaë and her baby Perseus had been washed up by the sea years before. Dictys, the king's brother, had found and taken care of them. In the *Danaë* Dictys was represented as a fisherman. Perseus has now become a youth and when the king Polydectes

[1] Codex Palatinus 287.

[2] *Bibl.* II, 4, 1 ff.

[3] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 668 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 365 ff.; Wecklein, *Sitzb. Bayer. Akad.* 1888, pp. 109 ff.

wishes to marry Danaë against her will Perseus is able to defend her. But a festival is to be celebrated in commemoration of the marriage of Hippodamia, and the guests are requested to bring horses to the king as a suitable present. Perseus is unable to do this and to make up for it is ordered by Polydectes to cut off the head of the Gorgon Medusa and bring it to him. Aided by Hermes Perseus sets out on his desperate adventure much to the distress of his mother. Polydectes now thinks he can take Danaë by force, but Dictys intervenes and stops him. This is the situation when Perseus suddenly returns, having performed his task successfully, and finds that Danaë and Dictys have fled for refuge to an altar. He quickly rescues them and then enters the palace where by means of the Gorgon's head he turns Polydectes and his followers to stone. Dictys is then made king of Seriphus.

The *Dictys* was one of the earlier plays of Euripides and apparently did not attain any particular fame. It was brought out in 431 B.C. at the same time as the *Medea* and the *Philoctetes*. There are eighteen fragments of it preserved with a total of fifty-nine lines.

XXII

The Epeus

Among the plays of Euripides enumerated in the list now in Paris (on the so-called Albani monument) and likewise on the stone found at Piraeus is the *Epeus*. No fragment of it, however, is known to be preserved and there is no mention of it in the literature. Its plot is, therefore, entirely unknown. In Greek legend Epeus is famous as the builder of the Wooden Horse by means of which Troy was captured, but in the absence of information it is useless to speculate on the manner in which Euripides handled the subject.[1] Hyginus tells the story of the Wooden Horse briefly in *Fabula* 108 and it is possible that

[1] For a discussion of it see Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 523 ff.

he may have had the *Epeus* of Euripides in mind as he wrote, but there is no evidence to establish that fact.

XXIII

The Erechtheus

The *Erechtheus*[1] was a play written, like the *Suppliants* and the *Heraclidae*, to glorify Athens and the poet chose for his theme an incident in Athenian legendary history. The plot is fortunately preserved by Lycurgus, the orator,[2] in his oration against Leocrates (chs. 98 ff.) and is as follows.

Eumolpus, son of Poseidon and Chione, laid claim to the sovereignty of Attica and decided to invade the land with an army of Thracians and thus take possession. Erechtheus, the king, learning of the approach of the great army went to Delphi and asked the oracle what he should do to gain a victory over his enemies. The oracle replied that if he sacrificed his daughter before the armies met he would conquer. This he did, and when the battle took place Erechtheus won a great victory and drove the invaders from the land. In the extant fragments of the play we are not told which of the king's daughters was slain, for he had several, but the point is that the king was willing to kill a child of his own for the sake of victory. Lycurgus then adds that Euripides deserves praise for choosing to write on such a topic, and he proceeds to quote fifty-five lines of the speech of Erechtheus in which he tries to justify his course. The king explains that his country is more important than any individual, and in sacrificing his daughter he is giving one life for all the people. He ends with the lines:

> My country, would that all who dwell within
> Thy boundaries should love thee as I do;
> Then should we dwell in peace, and thou be safe.

[1] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 717 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 465 ff.

[2] Other sources are, Apollodorus, *Bibl.* III, 15, 4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 46 and 238; Schol. on Aratus, 169; Plutarch, *Mor.* p. 310 D.

A second long passage quoted by Stobaeus[1] is from the speech of Erechtheus in which he bids his daughter farewell.

The action of the play seems to have begun when news of the impending invasion of the Thracians had reached Athens. The plot was constructed about the death of the daughter, which was the crisis to which the poet gradually led up. Erechtheus then probably went off with his followers to take part in the battle. After a song by the chorus a messenger may have entered giving details of the battle, and telling how Erechtheus, himself, slew Eumolpus. The play may well have ended, as Hartung imagines, with Athena as *deus ex machina* announcing that both Erechtheus and his daughter shall have divine honors.

The exact date of the *Erechtheus* is not known. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf[2] believed it to be about 421 B.C. which may be accepted until more satisfactory evidence is available. There are twenty fragments of the play still preserved, with a total of 125 lines. Ennius wrote an *Erechtheus* no doubt based on this play, but only three small fragments of it still exist.

XXIV

The Eurystheus

The story of the wicked king Eurystheus who, having power over Heracles, sent him upon his Labors and then was terrified at the sight of the monsters which the hero vanquished and brought back, was a favorite with the Greek people from early times. It appealed to their sense of humor, and likewise to their sense of justice, for the success of the hero was the triumph of valor over tyranny. The Greek vase-painters, who often reflect popular sentiment, early began to depict the cowardly Eurystheus trying to hide in a huge jar, while Heracles threatens to drop the Erymanthian boar alive on top of him. This phase of the story, then, afforded endless opportunities for fun and so was eminently fitted to be the subject of a satyr drama.

[1] *Flor.* III, 18.
[2] *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 151.

The *Eurystheus* of Euripides seems to have enjoyed a considerable reputation in antiquity, though there are but twenty lines of it now preserved distributed among ten fragments. Its date is not known.

The plot evidently had to do with the Labor in which Heracles was commanded to go down into Hades and capture Cerberus. Hartung[1] conjectures very plausibly that the scene was laid at Mycenae before the walls, for the cautious Eurystheus was taking no chances and had no intention of admitting the strong man into his city. Heracles has just finished one of his Labors. Now, through the mouth of Copreus, the king's factotum, Eurystheus bids him undertake a still more stupendous task, to go down into the Lower World and bring back the triple-headed dog Cerberus. While this is going on the satyrs, who form the chorus, gather around Heracles and sympathize with him.

Heracles, however, departs and after a time returns with the monstrous beast tightly bound on his back. After these exertions the hero retires to a cave for a nap. Eurystheus thinking that all is safe comes out of the palace and to his horror encounters Cerberus. The satyrs encourage him, but while he is still paralyzed with fear Heracles walks out of the cave. On a black-figured hydria in the Louvre[2] (Plate VII), which is much earlier than the play of Euripides, Eurystheus is represented as having taken refuge in a great jar. He is holding up his hands in terror while Heracles appears before him with Cerberus. Such a scene may well have been enacted in the *Eurystheus*. The outcome of the plot seems to have been that Eurystheus promised to send Heracles on no more Labors; and Heracles in return agreed to take Cerberus back to his home in the Lower World.

Some such plot as this the play probably had. The satyrs no doubt made the most of every opportunity to play upon the

[1] *Op. cit.* I, pp. 313 ff.

[2] *Mon. Ant.* VI–VII, pl. 36.

PLATE VII.—HERACLES AND EURYSTHEUS. FROM A HYDRIA IN THE LOUVRE

fears of the cowardly Eurystheus. The climax must have come when he encountered Cerberus. The play was probably lively and very funny.

XXV

The Hippolytus Veiled

Among the lost plays of Euripides the *Hippolytus Veiled* (καλυπτόμενος) has attracted much attention,[1] more, perhaps, than its merits deserved. This is in part due to the fact that it is mentioned in the Hypothesis to the extant *Hippolytus*, already discussed. But it is there distinctly implied that the early play was not well received. The *Hippolytus Crowned* was a second attempt on the part of the poet to make a success of a plot which he instinctively knew to be admirably fitted for a tragedy.

The writer of the Hypothesis tells us that there was something "unseemly and deserving of criticism" (ἀπρεπὲς καὶ κατηγορίας ἄξιον) in it which was corrected in the *Hippolytus Crowned*. What it was that gave offense in the earlier play is nowhere stated, but it has been conjectured that the poet made Phaedra herself disclose her passion to Hippolytus. That motive is found in Seneca's *Hippolytus*, which is supposed to have been inspired by the lost play; and in the story as told by other writers. Whether in other respects the lost *Hippolytus* followed much the same lines as the extant play[2] cannot be definitely determined, and opinions differ. Some scenes were certainly very similar.

The new play, however, does not seem to have superceded the earlier *Hippolytus* to the extent that the latter ceased to be read, as is shown by the fact that we have twenty fragments of it with a total of forty-six lines. At least these lines are presumed to come from that source for they are not found in the

[1] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 736 ff. and Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 41 ff.

[2] See pp. 111 ff.

extant play, though they are usually cited simply as coming from the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. Thirteen of these twenty fragments are found in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus.[1] It seems fair to assume, therefore, that copies of the earlier *Hippolytus* were available even in late Greek times. The play is given its full name but twice, once in a passage in the scholia of Theocritus (II, 10), and in a single line cited by Pollux (IX, 50).

XXVI

The Hypsipyle

Previous to 1908 our knowledge of the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides consisted of what could be inferred from about twenty-nine lines of it preserved in eighteen different quotations, and certain incidental information handed down in the literature. In that year Grenfell and Hunt published[2] a papyrus manuscript of the play found at Oxyrhynchus in the Fayûm two years previously. This papyrus was in a very much mutilated condition. In fact there were over two hundred pieces of it, some of which could not be assigned to their proper places. It was copied on the back of a document dealing with receipts and expenditures dating from shortly before 200 A.D. The fragments preserved cover practically the whole tragedy which must have been about 1700 lines long; but only about 300 are complete, or nearly enough complete to permit a plausible restoration. It is possible, however, to recover the plot almost entire.

The scene was laid at Nemea before the palace of Lycurgus, the king. Hypsipyle apparently spoke the prologue, the first three lines of which are preserved in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes,[3]

[1] One (No. 434) is quoted as from the *Phaedra* of Sophocles, but is attributed to the *Hippolytus Veiled*.

[2] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VI, 1908, pp. 19 ff.; edited also by van Herwerden, 1909; by A. S. Hunt, *Fragmenta Tragica Papyracea*, 1912; by von Arnim, *op. cit.* pp. 48 ff., 1913; by G. Italie, *Euripidis Hypsipyla cum notis criticis et exegeticis*, 1923; etc.

[3] Lines 1211 ff. The last three words in the third line are preserved by the scholiast.

telling something of her past history. She was the daughter of Thoas, son of Dionysus and king of Lemnos. When the Argonauts stopped at the island on their voyage in search of the Golden Fleece she had fallen in love with Jason and borne him two sons. At a later time, when the men on the island were massacred by the women, she had saved her father but had been found out. She fled for her life, but was captured by pirates and sold as a slave to Lycurgus, king of Nemea. Here she is found at the opening of the play acting as the nurse of the little prince Opheltes, or, as he was later called, Archemorus.

In the first papyrus fragment Hypsipyle is speaking and trying to quiet the baby who seems to have been frightened by two young men who have knocked at the door. They are her own sons now grown to manhood, though she does not known them. They explain that they are seeking quarters for the night. The king is away, but Hypsipyle, who is impressed by their noble appearance, admits them to the palace.

In the fragmentary lyric passage whch follows Hypsipyle sings to the baby and shakes a rattle to amuse him.[1] The chorus, consisting of women of Nemea, enter and converse with Hypsipyle, asking her if she has come out to sweep the court or to sprinkle it, though all the time she is holding the baby in her arms and swaying with it as she sings. The chorus now see a band of armed strangers approaching, and a moment later Amphiaraus and his companions enter. They are on their famous expedition against Thebes. Amphiaraus explains who he is, and that they are seeking running water for a sacrifice before they cross the border. At this point in the play about forty lines are preserved. Hypsipyle agrees to show them where it is to be found and leaves the stage carrying the child, whom she evidently set down in what she regarded as a safe place. The chorus now sing of the incidents which led to the expedition of the Seven Heroes against Thebes, of the quarrel of Polynices and Tydeus and their marriage to the daughters of Adrastus.

[1] Line 9, *ἰδοῦ κτύπος ὅδε κροτάλων.*

The details of the next scene are lacking, but Hypsipyle evidently went back to the place where she had left Opheltes to find that he had been killed by a snake. She now returns to the stage overwhelmed with grief for the baby and fearful for her own safety. She asks the chorus what she shall do. Just what followed is not clear. Either she voluntarily tells the queen what has happened, or Eurydice finds it out in some other way. At all events Hypsipyle is condemned to death for her negligence.

Amphiaraus now returns and explains to the queen that he has been the unwitting cause of the child's death by asking Hypsipyle to guide him to the spring. He promises to hold funeral games for the child, who is to bear the name of Archemorus instead of Opheltes. The Nemean Games are to be founded in his honor. Eurydice is at length appeased and pardons Hypsipyle. The longest consecutive passage in the papyrus has this scene. There are 117 lines, broken but admitting of restoration.

In the lost scene which followed Hypsipyle's sons were somehow introduced and made known to their mother; for we find her in conversation with them. They tell her something of their history, how, on the death of their father Jason, Orpheus had taken charge of them and taught one music and the other skill in arms.[1]

Just how the play ended is uncertain, but it is possible that Dionysus was introduced as the *deus ex machina*, who sent Hypsipyle with her son Euneus to join her aged father in Athens.

It is clear from this summary that the *Hypsipyle* was a romantic drama similar to the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and the *Helen*. It was evidently a play with much charm, and we may be sure was popular. We learn from a scholium on the *Frogs* of Aristophanes that it was one of the dramatist's latest tragedies, for with the *Phoenissae* and the *Antiope* it is spoken of as being brought out shortly before the *Frogs* (that is 405

[1] On the history of the children and of Thoas see Robert, *Hermes*, XLIV, pp. 376 ff.

B.C.), and that it was a beautiful play.[1] The adjective would seem to be justified.

Scenes from the *Hypsipyle* story occur on several Greek vases notably on one in the Louvre signed by Lasimus (Fig. 8), and on a large amphora in the Museum at Naples, on which

FIGURE 8.—HYPSIPYLE AND ARCHEMORUS. FROM AN AMPHORA IN THE LOUVRE

the names of the figures are added by the artist. Scenes on two other amphorae, one in Naples and the other in St. Petersburg are also connected with the play.[2]

[1] On line 53, *τῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων καὶ καλῶν, Ὑψιπύλης, Φοινισσῶν, Ἀντιόπης.*

[2] See Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 364 ff.

XXVII

The Ino

In the *Ino* Euripides has chosen his plot from a well-known story, or series of stories, long famous on the Greek stage. Aeschylus wrote a tetralogy[1] on the subject; Sophocles wrote two plays entitled *Athamas*,[2] as well as a *Phrixus;* and Euripides himself used another part of it in his *Phrixus*. A brief account of the plot is given by Hyginus in *Fabula* 4 which bears the title *Ino Euripidis*. This may be supplemented from other sources so that we have a very good idea of the way in which the poet developed his theme.[3]

The story is this. Athamas, king of Thessaly, had married Ino, daughter of Cadmus, and had two sons by her; but Ino had disappeared from home and is supposed to be dead. Athamas then married as his third wife Themisto, by whom he also had two sons. Later on Athamas learned that Ino in a fit of insanity had gone to Mount Parnassus and was living there in a cave.[4] He promptly sent for her and had her brought back to the palace where he kept her in concealment. Nobody in the palace recognized her, for she must have arrived in wretched plight. Aristophanes in the *Acharnians* speaks of the rags of Ino,[5] and a scholium on the *Wasps* tells how Euripides brought her on the stage pale and suffering.[6] Athamas does not know what to do with his two wives,[7] but Ino who has apparently recovered her mind agrees to keep quiet and make no trouble. Themisto, however, in some way learns that Ino has been found, but not knowing who she is determines to put her children out of the way at the first opportunity. When, therefore, the king goes hunting

[1] The *Athamas*, *Hypsipyle*, *Argo* and *Cabiri*.

[2] See Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

[3] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 615 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 453 ff.

[4] Frag. 425, *κοίλοις ἐν ἄντροις, ὥστε θήρ, μόνος.*

[5] Line 434.

[6] Line 1413, *ὠχρὰν ὑπὸ κακοπαθείας.*

[7] See Frag. 406.

she tells Ino, whom she supposes to be a servant, to dress Ino's children in black and her own in white so that she may easily distinguish them, for apparently she means to kill the former in the semi-darkness of their bed-room. Ino, however, does just the reverse, and Themisto kills her own sons. Ino then quickly gets her two boys to a safe place, and Themisto, when she finds out what she has done, enters the house and hangs herself. Learchus, the elder of Ino's sons, may have been sent to meet Athamas and tell him what has happened; but Athamas, in a fit of insanity caused by Hera, shoots an arrow at the boy and kills him. The dead body of Learchus is brought in. Athamas recovers his reason and realizes the terrible deeds which he and Themisto have done. But his misfortunes are not at an end, for a messenger arrives telling that Ino has been driven mad by Hera and has cast herself with her younger son, Melicertes, into the sea. A *deus ex machina*, perhaps Dionysus, may then have appeared and told of the transformation of Ino and Melicertes into marine divinities.

The *Ino* apparently enjoyed a high reputation in antiquity. It contains unique features, such as the long stay of Ino in the cave on Parnassus during her period of insanity. It was an early play, that is earlier than 425 B.C. for it is referred to in the *Acharnians*. The extant fragments number twenty-five with a total of seventy-seven lines, besides two lines quoted by Satyrus in his *Life of Euripides*.

XXVIII

The Ixion

Our knowledge of the *Ixion*[1] of Euripides is very scanty. Two fragments of three lines each and one of one line are all that now remain of the play, and nothing can be inferred from them about the plot. One hint, however, we do have as to its ending.

[1] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 749 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 370 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 389 ff.

An anecdote in the *Moralia*[1] of Plutarch relates that when Euripides was taken to task for representing the wicked Ixion in a play he replied that he had not let him go from the stage until he had fastened him to the wheel.

Pindar in the Second Pythian Ode[2] tells how Ixion was admitted to intimacy with the gods, but made love to Hera, for which he was punished by being attached to a wheel turning perpetually through the air. An earlier part of his story is related by Diodorus Siculus[3] as follows. When his father-in-law, Eioneus, had seized some mares of his as security for the marriage gifts which Ixion had failed to give him, the latter murdered the older man by pushing him into a pit full of fire. But there is no evidence that this story was included in the *Ixion* of Euripides. Hyginus[4] states that Zeus, detecting Ixion in his intrigue, made a phantom Hera of cloud by which Ixion was deceived and became the father of the Centaurs. Ixion was then punished by being attached to a wheel by Hermes at the command of Zeus. How much of this was introduced by Euripides into his play can only be conjectured.

On an amphora from Cumae in Berlin (PLATE VIII) Ixion is represented fastened to a blazing wheel while Hephaestus and Hermes gaze up at him. Above at either side is a winged female figure and below a Fury.[5] On another amphora from Ruvo, now in the Hermitage Museum, Ixion is just being fastened to the wheel.[6] Séchan suggests that both of these vase-paintings go back to the *Ixion* of Euripides.

The date of the play is also unknown, but Wilamowitz-Moellendorf[7] thinks it was produced between 410 and 408 B.C.

Aeschylus and Sophocles both wrote *Ixions*, but very little is

[1] *De Aud. Poet.* IV, p. 19 E.
[2] Lines 21 ff.
[3] IV, 69, 3 ff.
[4] *Fab.* 62; cp. Lucian, *Dial. Deo.* 6, and Apollodorus, *Epit.* I, 20.
[5] *Annali*, XLV, 1873, tav. d'agg. I-K.
[6] *Mon. Ined.* pl. XLV, 1.
[7] *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 154.

PLATE VIII.—IXION ON THE WHEEL. FROM AN AMPHORA IN BERLIN

known of either play. Welcker suggested that the one by Aeschylus had to do with the slaying of Eioneus.

XXIX

The Licymnius

The plot of the *Licymnius* is very obscure. The play seems to have attracted little attention in antiquity and it is rarely quoted. Seven lines of it alone have come down to modern times in six different fragments. So little is known about it that Hartung[1] even argued that it was to be identified with the *Alcmena*, but this theory has not been accepted. In fact such evidence as there is points to the *Licymnius* as a different play.

Licymnius did not have an important part in Greek legendary history. According to Apollodorus[2] he was the son of Electryon by a Phrygian woman named Midia. He was, therefore, a half brother of Alcmena. As a youth he shared in the defense of his father's kingdom when the sons of Pterelaus and the Taphians claimed it and drove off his cattle. He survived the combat, though his half brothers were all killed. After the accidental death of Electryon at the hands of Amphitryon Licymnius accompanied the latter when he went with Alcmena to Thebes for purification. Amphitryon gave him his sister Perimede in marriage. Of his later history very little is known. We are told that one of his sons was killed by the sons of Hippocoon at Lacedaemon, which brought upon them the vengeance of Heracles. Sons of Licymnius named Argius and Melas accompanied Heracles on his expedition against Oechalia and lost their lives. Licymnius himself was eventually killed by accident by Tlepolemus. Homer[3] mentions his death in old age at the hands of Tlepolemus who fled to Rhodes, but does not say whether it was due to accident or not.

[1] *Op. cit.* I, pp. 534 ff. Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 696 f. has a brief discussion of the play.

[2] *Bibl.* II, 4, 5 ff.

[3] *Iliad*, II, 660 ff.

This is about all that can be told about Licymnius. What part of his history Euripides chose for the plot of his tragedy cannot be made out from our slender material. Aristophanes in the *Birds*[1] speaks of Λικυμνίαι βολαί as if the phrase were proverbial, and a scholium on the passage says that in the *Licymnius* of Euripides somebody was introduced struck by lightning. In another place the scholiast refers again to that play and starts to quote from the speech of the messenger and then breaks off.[2] Hesychius, too, has a note on the expression[3] and says that in the *Licymnius* a ship was struck by lightning. The reference to Mysia in Fragment 479 may imply a voyage to that land, perhaps to visit the relatives of his mother. From Fragment 476 we infer that Heracles was a character in the play.

It is evident that no incident sufficiently striking for the plot of a tragedy is to be found in the story of Licymnius as we now have it. Whatever served for the basis for the play has not been handed down to modern times.

XXX

The Melanippe the Wise

Euripides wrote two plays about Melanippe, one known as *Melanippe the Wise* (Μελανίππη ἡ σοφή) and the other *Melanippe the Prisoner* (Μελανίππη ἡ δεσμῶτις). The former was brought out before 411 B.C.[4] and the latter before the *Demi* of Eupolis which appeared in 413. Both seem to have been ranked high among the tragedies of Euripides in antiquity. The *Melanippe the Wise* is referred to by Aristotle in his *Poetics*.[5]

Of the two plays the first deals with the earlier part of Melanippe's story. An outline of this has long been known from

[1] Line 1242. See J. W. White, *Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes*, p. 222.

[2] He says εἴη δ'ἂν τοῦ Εὐριπίδου μεμνημένος ἀγγέλου τοῦ ἐν Λικυμνίῳ, λέγει γὰρ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐκεῖνος.....

[3] S. v. Λικυμνίοις βολαῖς.....κεραυνοῦται γὰρ ἡ ναῦς κατὰ τὸν ἐκεῖ λόγον.....

[4] See Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 1124 and scholium.

[5] P. 1454 a, 31.

passages in Gregory of Corinth and Dionysius of Halicarnassus;[1] but of the tragedy itself only eight small fragments amounting to seventeen lines[2] could be identified down to the year 1908, when R. Rabe published[3] a summary of the plot in Greek and the first twenty-two lines of the prologue which he had found in a manuscript in the Vatican.[4]

The story is as follows.[5] Aeolus had by Hippe (or Hippo), daughter of Chiron, a very beautiful daughter Melanippe. While he was in exile for homicide she bore twin sons to Poseidon, at whose command she gave them to her nurse to place in a cattle-pen. Here they were found by herdsmen being suckled by a cow and guarded by a bull. This seems to have been the situation when the action of the play began. Melanippe spoke the prologue. As the king, Aeolus, had now returned home the babies were brought to him as monstrosities borne by a cow. He ordered them to be burned alive, and put them in charge of his daughter Melanippe to prepare for their death. She resorted to all kinds of arguments to save them and to prove that there was no prodigy.[6] Apparently it was because of her skilful arguments that she was called in this play "The Wise."[7] But at length she was obliged to confess that the children were her own.

[1] Quoted by Nauck, *Eur. Trag.* III, pp. 129 f.

[2] Eight lines quoted by Stobaeus (*Ecl.* I, 3, 14; Nauck Frag. 508) merely as coming from the "*Melanippe*" probably belong to this play.

[3] *Rh. Mus.* LXIII, 1908, pp. 145 f.; also von Arnim, *Supplementum Euripideum* pp. 25 ff.

[4] This is a fourteenth century Greek manuscript (No. 2228) containing the commentary of Johannes Logothetes on the περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος of Hermogenes. An account of it with its quotations from Greek authors is given by Rabe in *Rh. Mus.* LXIII, 1908, pp. 127 ff.

[5] See also Murray, *op. cit.* p. 327.

[6] Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* IX, 11 (ed. Reiske, Vol. V, p. 356) says βοηθοῦσα αὐτὴ ἡ Μελανίππη ἀποφαίνεσθαι πειρᾶται ὅτι τέρας οὐδέν ἐστιν.οὕτω τὸ δρᾶμα ὅλον ἐσχημάτισται.

[7] Dionysius states further (*ibid.* p. 355) that she was called wise because of the philosophical ideas which she set forth, and because she was the daughter of Hippe, the daughter of Chiron (ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν σοφή, ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοιαύτης μητρός ἐστιν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπίθανος ᾖ ἡ φιλοσοφία).

Just how the plot developed from this point is not altogether clear; but if we may believe Hyginus,[1] who combines the stories of the two tragedies, Melanippe was blinded and thrown into prison, and her children exposed to the wild beasts. In the second play, *Melanippe the Prisoner*, she is still in prison when the action of the piece begins.[2]

XXXI

The Melanippe the Prisoner

The *Melanippe the Prisoner* has been better known in modern times than the *Melanippe the Wise* partly because more of it has been preserved, and because Hyginus[3] gives a fuller account of its plot. Twenty-three fragments amounting to sixty-six lines are preserved in the literature, and, in addition, there are two papyrus fragments of it in Berlin,[4] one of fifty more or less mutilated lines, and the other of twenty-nine.

The plot may be reconstructed somewhat as follows.[5] After the blinding and imprisonment of Melanippe, her children were exposed on the mountain; but a cow suckled them and herdsmen seeing this rescued and cared for them. It so happened that at that time Metapontus, king of Icaria, had threatened his wife Theano because she had borne him no children to inherit his kingdom. She, therefore, begged the herdsmen to find a child for her and they gave her Melanippe's two boys whom she represented to Metapontus as her own. At a later time she had two sons, and wishing them to inherit the kingdom she began to plot against her adopted children, now grown to manhood

[1] *Fab.* 186.

[2] For a discussion of the two *Melanippes* before the discovery of Rabe see Wünsch, *Rh. Mus.* XLIX, 1894, pp. 91 ff.

[3] *Fab.* 186.

[4] Nos. P. 5514 and P. 9772, published in *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V, 2, pp. 85 ff. and 125 f. respectively; also von Arnim, *op. cit.* pp. 29 ff. Part of the second passage is also found in the *Life of Euripides* by Satyrus, col. XI.

[5] See also Murray, *op. cit.* p. 327.

and high in the favor of Metapontus. Here apparently the action of the play began, with Melanippe still blind and in prison.

When Metapontus had departed for a visit to the temple of Artemis Theano told her brothers[1] that the two older boys were really not her children, and urged them to kill them while they were out hunting. This they attempted to do, but lost their own lives. Theano learning of this killed herself with a hunting knife.

At this point in the play Poseidon reveals to Melanippe's sons that he is their father and that their mother is blind and in prison. They at once rescue her and, when her wicked father the aged Aeolus[2] tries to prevent them, they kill him. Poseidon now restores Melanippe's sight and she returns with her sons to Icaria. Metapontus learns the truth about Theano, marries Melanippe, and adopts her two sons.

The longer of the two papyri contains part of the messenger's speech telling of the fight between Melanippe's sons and Theano's brothers. It is written in the same lively style as the messengers' speeches in the extant plays. The second papyrus fragment seems to be part of a speech in defense of women, possibly spoken by Poseidon who may have been the *deus ex machina*. A fragment in anapaestic verse quoted by Stobaeus[3] from the "*Melanippe* of Euripides" may well have been spoken by the chorus as the last three lines of the play.

The Roman poet Attius wrote a Latin version of the story probably based upon this tragedy by Euripides.

[1] Hyginus (*Fab.* 186) says her "sons," but this is contradicted by the longer papyrus fragment in Berlin, where Melanippe's sons are made to say,

μητρὸς ὦ κασίγνη[τοι φιλῆς]
τί δρᾶτ'; ἀποκτείνοντες ο[ὓς ἥκιστα χρῆν]
φωρᾶσθε.πρὸς θεῶν δρᾶτ[ε μηδαμῶς τάδε.]

[2] Hyginus gives Desmontes as an alternative name.

[3] *Flor.* LXXII, 13, Nauck, Frag. 505,

μετρίων λέκτρων, μετρίων δὲ γάμων
μετὰ σωφροσύνης
κῦρσαι θνητοῖσιν ἄριστον.

XXXII

The Meleager

In the *Meleager* Euripides[1] makes use of one of the most famous stories in Greek mythology, one declared by Aristotle[2] to be especially suitable as a subject for tragedy. It was a favorite with the Greek poets. It appears in the Ninth Book of the *Iliad*,[3] is delightfully told by Bacchylides in his Fifth Ode,[4] and served as the basis for the *Pleuronian Women* of Phrynichus. Sophocles, like Euripides, wrote a *Meleager*, as did other less important tragic poets.[5] Later writers tell it in more or less detail.[6] As is natural in a story related by so many writers of widely different dates there are many variations in it,[7] but the main outlines are these:

Althaea, at the birth of her son Meleager, was told by the Fates, or overheard the Fates to say, that he would live only as long as a brand then burning in the fire survived. She quickly snatched up the brand and carefully preserved it. In the mean time Meleager grew to manhood. But his father Oeneus had offended Artemis, apparently by omitting to sacrifice to her, and she had sent a huge boar to ravage the land of Calydon. A great hunt is, therefore, to be held to rid the land of the monster, and famous leaders have been invited to take part in it. This is the situation at the beginning of the play.

When the party had assembled there appeared among the warriors the huntress Atalanta with whom Meleager fell violently in love. He talks with his mother about her. The

[1] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 752 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 140 ff.; Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 330 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 423 ff.

[2] *Poetics*, p. 1453 a, 20 ff.

[3] Lines 529 ff.

[4] Lines 68 ff.

[5] E.g. Antiphon (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 615) and Sosiphanes (*ibid.* p. 638).

[6] E.g. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* I, 8, 1 ff.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 174, etc.

[7] For a good brief discussion of the myth see Jebb, *Bacchylides*, pp. 468 ff.

hunt takes place, and, although Atalanta is the first to wound the boar, Meleager kills it and is awarded the hide. He presents it to Atalanta; but a violent quarrel then breaks out between the Aetolians and the Curetes in which Meleager sides with the former and in the conflict slays his mother's two brothers. According to one version of the story they tried to rob Atalanta of the hide. In Bacchylides Meleager kills them by chance in

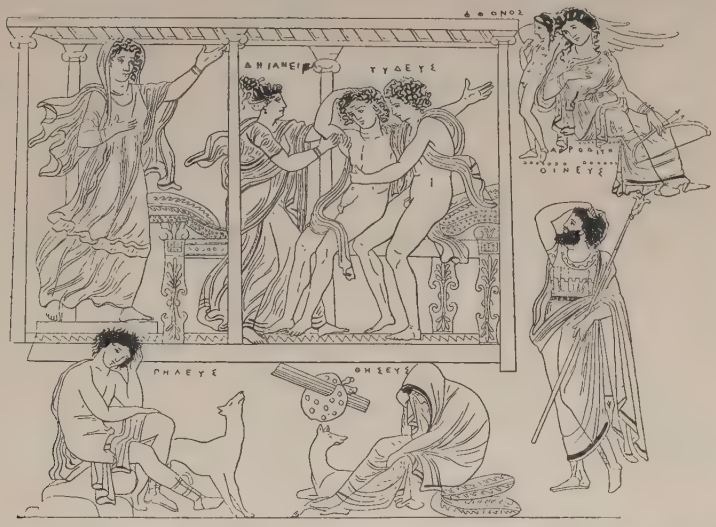

FIGURE 9.—THE DEATH OF MELEAGER. FROM AN AMPHORA IN NAPLES

the mellay. When Althaea hears of the death of her brothers, in anger she burns the fatal brand and the life of Meleager ebbs away.

In the *Meleager* of Euripides the early part of the play was probably devoted to the preparations for the hunt, the arrival of Atalanta, and her meeting with Meleager. Then came the story of the hunt with details of the killing of the Caledonian boar told at some length by a messenger. The tragic death of Meleager must soon have followed also related by a messenger or some other character. His body may have been shown by means of the eccyclema.

According to Homer Meleager had a wife named Cleopatra, who appears also in some of the later accounts, but there seems to be no place for her in the tragedy of Euripides.

There are extant today twenty-five fragments of the *Meleager* with a total of about sixty-one lines. The longest piece consists of nine lines. The date is unknown, but is placed by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf[1] before 415 B.C. A *Meleager* is known by the Roman poet Attius, but whether he followed the tragedy of Euripides or that of Sophocles cannot be determined.

The vase-painters did not neglect the myth and on an amphora in Naples (Fig. 9) the final scene in the tragic story is represented.[2]

XXXIII

The Oedipus

The *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles has established so securely the story of the unhappy king of Thebes that it is hard for the modern reader to believe that any variation from it was possible. And yet a dozen or more plays entitled *Oedipus* are known to have been written in antiquity, among them tragedies by Aeschylus and Euripides, and they surely could not all have been alike. Novelties must have been introduced by some of the writers.

It will be remembered that in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles before the action of the play began Oedipus had met and slain in a quarrel at the cross-roads an aged man. He had afterwards solved the riddle of the Sphinx and so rid the land of that monster, as a reward for which he had been given the hand of the widowed queen in marriage. But a pestilence has come upon the country and in an attempt to find out the cause of it Oedipus discovers that it was he himself who had slain Laius, the king, and that Jocasta, the queen, is in reality his mother.

[1] *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 155.

[2] See Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 431 ff.

He had thus unwittingly fulfilled the oracle which declared that he should kill his father and marry his mother. When the truth becomes known Jocasta hangs herself and Oedipus tears out his eyes with brooches taken from her garments.

In its main outlines this story did not admit of much variation. An essential part of it was that Oedipus, without knowing who he was, killed his father Laius, and later, still in ignorance, married his mother Jocasta. This must have been the situation at the

FIGURE 10.—OEDIPUS BLINDED BY THE SOLDIERS OF LAIUS. FROM AN ETRUSCAN URN IN FLORENCE

beginning of lost *Oedipus* of Euripides[1] as in that of Sophocles. Just how the plot developed is not certain, but very likely, as in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, barrenness came upon the land and led to the investigations which brought the truth to light. One specific piece of information about the *Oedipus* of Euripides is preserved in the scholia to the *Phoenissae*, where it is stated that servants of Laius blinded Oedipus.[2] Here is one

[1] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 537 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 244 ff.; Robert, *Oidipus*, I, pp. 305 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 434 ff.

[2] Line 61, *ἐν δὲ τῷ Οἰδίποδι οἱ Λαΐου θεράποντες ἐτύφλωσαν αὐτόν.*

variation from the Sophoclean version of the story. Jebb[1] thinks this statement an error; but as Robert points out,[2] a relief on an Etruscan funerary urn from Volterra, now in Florence, apparently represents Oedipus being blinded by soldiers (Fig. 10), thus confirming the scholium. The blinding probably took place before it was known that the stranger was the son of Laius. Another difference seems to have been the bringing of Periboea, the queen of Corinth (not called Merope as in Sophocles) to Thebes to testify that Oedipus was not her son. This probably led to the identification. Robert believes, I think rightly, that Jocasta killed herself when she learned who Oedipus was. It may be that Creon played a more important part than in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and, perhaps, as Robert thinks, it was his investigations into the death of Laius which revealed the truth, and that he was responsible for the punishment of Oedipus. How the play came to an end can only be conjectured.

There are eighteen fragments of the *Oedipus* of Euripides still extant amounting in all to thirty-six lines, but they are mostly colorless in character and help us little in our knowledge of the plot.

The dates of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles and of the *Oedipus* of Euripides are both unknown. Jebb[3] would not go further in regard to the tragedy of Sophocles than to date it between 439 and 412 B.C. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf,[4] however, thinks that the Sophoclean play was brought out about 430, and that of Euripides after 425, perhaps between 420 and 410 B.C. These dates are very uncertain with our present evidence.

Robert thinks that the very fact that scenes from the *Oedipus* of Euripides are represented on works of art, such as the urn in Florence and a bowl in the Louvre, shows that the play long remained popular and that it was not completely driven out

[1] *Oedipus Tyrannus*, ed. 3, p. xvi, n. 1.
[2] *Oidipus*, I, p. 307, fig. 48.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. xxx.
[4] *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 156.

by the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles. Such may have been the case.

XXXIV

The Oeneus

The *Oeneus*[1] of Euripides was an early play brought out before 425 B.C. for it is referred to by Aristophanes in the *Acharnians* which was produced in that year. The extant fragments of it number but twelve, with a total of twenty-two lines.[2] Not much can be inferred from them as to the plot for they seem to come for the most part from the early part of the play. A scholium on line 418 of the *Acharnians* gives the story of the *Oeneus* very briefly, and this may be supplemented by passages in Pausanias,[3] Apollodorus,[4] and Hyginus.[5] From these sources the plot may be briefly reconstructed as follows.

The scene was laid in Calydon. Oeneus, the aged king, having lost his sons and being alone, was driven from his throne by the sons of his brother Agrius. He escaped and at the opening of the play is supposed to be living in wretchedness in disguise, apparently holding some servile position. After the expedition of the Epigoni against Thebes his grandson, Diomedes, learning of the calamities which had befallen the aged man, goes to Calydon accompanied by his friend Sthenelus, finds Oeneus, rescues him, and drives out Agrius. The sons of Agrius, or at least some of them, are killed, but Agrius is apparently spared, only to die by his own hand. Hyginus says that Oeneus was restored to his kindgom; but Apollodorus, who is supported by Pausanias, says that because of his age the kingdom was handed

[1] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 583 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 153 ff.; Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 333 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 442 ff.

[2] Some papyrus fragments have been conjectured to belong to the *Oeneus*, but their identity has not been definitely established. See p. 307, Nos. 24 and 25.

[3] II, 25, 2.

[4] *Bibl.* I, 8, 6.

[5] *Fab.* 175.

over to his son-in-law Andraemon, while Oeneus accompanied Diomedes to Argos.

The prologue of the play was spoken by Diomedes, and the chorus consisted of men of Aetolia. Séchan[1] and others believe that Periboea, the wife of Oeneus, had an important part in the action because the Roman tragic poet Pacuvius gave her name to his play[2] which is supposed to have been based upon the *Oeneus*. Accius also imitated it in his *Diomedes*.[3]

FIGURE 11.—DIOMED OFFERS OENEUS A SWORD WITH WHICH TO SLAY AGRIUS. FROM A HYDRIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

A vase painting in the British Museum (Fig. 11) may go back to the *Oeneus*.[4] In fact there is good reason to believe that it represents one of the closing scenes. Seated upon an altar with his hands behind him is Agrius, identified by a faint inscription. A Fury stands below and beside the altar. In front of it an aged

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 444 f.
[2] See Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 111 ff. Twenty-eight fragments of it survive.
[3] See Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 171 ff. Twelve fragments of it survive.
[4] See Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 445 f. with the references.

man holding a sceptre is being led forward by a woman who has her right arm about his neck, while a youthful warrior offers him a sword. The aged man must be Oeneus and the warrior Diomedes.

XXXV

The Oenomaus

The story of the chariot race between Pelops and Oenomaus in which the latter lost his life and the former won the lovely Hippodamia for his bride is famous in Greek legend. It is told with variants in several places, and both Sophocles and Euripides[1] used it as the subject for a tragedy. It is as follows.

The scene is laid at Pisa where Oenomaus is king with a beautiful daughter Hippodamia. There have been many suitors for her hand, all of whom the king has challenged to a chariot race, for an oracle has told him that he will die by the hand of his son-in-law; but by means of the speed of his horses, given him by Ares, Oenomaus is always victorious and slays the unhappy suitors as he passes them. In this way thirteen of them, according to Pindar,[2] had lost their lives. Pelops, however, came with the horses given him by Poseidon, winged horses as Pindar says, defeated Oenomaus, and won Hippodamia for his bride. There are some differences of detail as to how this victory was gained. In Pindar it is because Pelops enjoyed the favor of the gods. Other versions make treachery on the part of the charioteer Myrtilus responsible for it. Thus it is told that Pelops bribed Myrtilus by offering him half of the kingdom to remove the linch-pins from the chariot of the king, or to substitute wax for the pins, thus causing the chariot to break down and so effecting the death of Oenomaus; or that Hippodamia fell in love with Pelops and begged Myrtilus to aid her; or that

[1] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 674 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 104 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 447 ff.

[2] *Ol.* I, 79.

Myrtilus was in love with Hippodamia and that Pelops knowing that fact used it to bring about the downfall of the king, and later got rid of Myrtilus by casting him into the sea. These are some of the variants in the story.[1] The chariot-race with Hippodamia as the prize, the victory of Pelops, and the death of Oenomaus are, however, fundamental portions of the legend. The race was from Pisa to Corinth and served as the foundation of the Olympic Games.

How Euripides handled the story in his *Oenomaus* can only be conjectured, for the extant fragments of the play number but seven, with a total of twenty-four lines, and these are not sufficient to supply even an outline. We may, however, conjecture that in the prologue the story of the oracle and of the previous races was told. Then Pelops may have arrived and sued for the hand of Hippodamia. The preparations for the race between Oenomaus and Pelops may have been entered into in considerable detail. Then a messenger would enter and give the story of the race and the victory of Pelops. Finally Pelops may be supposed to have entered, perhaps in his chariot, to claim his bride, and later to have departed with her. Vase-paintings (PLATE IX) seem to imply some such plot.

It is natural that so famous a story should attract the tragic poets and likewise that it should seem to the painters of Greek vases to furnish them excellent subjects for their art. As a matter of fact Séchan lists no fewer than fourteen vase-paintings which illustrate some portion of the tale. Some of these were no doubt actually inspired by a performance of the play.

The mutilated note at the beginning of the *Phoenissae* implies that the *Oenomaus* was brought out at the same time with it, that is probably between 411 and 408 B.C.

[1] See e.g. Séchan *op. cit.*, pp. 595 ff.

PLATE IX.—PELOPS AND HIPPODAMIA. FROM AN AMPHORA AT AREZZO

XXXVI

The Palamedes

The *Palamedes*[1] of Euripides seems to have enjoyed considerable fame in antiquity. Unfortunately little is known about it today, for although there are extant eleven fragments amounting to about thirty lines they give us little help for a reconstruction of the plot. The story which the poet used is known from several sources,[2] though there are variations in it as is the case with most Greek legends. It is this:

Palamedes was the wisest of the Greeks. Among other things he is said to have invented writing, and the longest fragment of the play (nine lines), which probably comes from the prologue, has reference to this. When preparations were being made for the expedition against Troy Odysseus tried to avoid going by feigning madness, but the fraud was detected and revealed by Palamedes. This may have been set forth by Euripides in his prologue. The scene of the play must have been laid at Troy in the Greek camp with Achaean soldiers for the chorus. Odysseus, determined to be avenged upon Palamedes, buried a hoard of gold in his tent, at the same time writing a letter supposed to be a communication from Priam to Palamedes and giving it to a Phrygian captive ostensibly to carry to Troy. But he had the man killed outside the Greek camp. The letter was found and brought to Agamemnon, the tent of Palamedes searched, and the gold discovered. Palamedes was adjudged guilty and given over to the army to be stoned to death. A scholium on line 771 of the *Thesmophoriazousae* of Aristophanes says that Euripides in the *Palamedes* makes his brother Oeax carve the story of his death on ships, and likewise upon many oars which he cast into the sea in the hope that their father Nauplius might

[1] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 500 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 250 ff.

[2] Polyaenus, I, prooem. 12, quoted by Nauck, *op. cit.* p. 154; Apollodorus, *Epit.* III, 7–8; Hyginus, *Fab.* 105; Schol. on Eur. *Orestes*, 432.

learn from them how Palamedes had met his end. How this incident was used by the poet in the play is not altogether clear. The reference to Palamedes by Socrates in the *Apology*[1] may have been suggested by the tragedy of Euripides, which was brought out with the *Alexander* and the *Troades* in 415 B.C.[2]

XXXVII

The Peleus

The *Peleus*[3] is represented today by eight small fragments with a total of fifteen lines, none especially significant. In fact there would be considerable doubt as to what part of the story of the father of Achilles Euripides chose for his plot if it were not for a passage in Dictys Cretensis[4] which is generally assumed to be based upon the play.

The scene is laid near Cape Sepias in Thessaly, before a cave near the seashore. Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, on his way back from Troy had been obliged by a storm to put in among the Molossians. Here, while repairing his fleet, he had heard that his grandfather had been driven from his kingdom by Acastus. He, therefore, had sent two of his men to find out the facts, and, when they returned and reported, he set sail. But again he encountered severe weather and most of his ships were wrecked near Cape Sepias. Neoptolemus and some of his men got safely ashore and discovered the aged Peleus living in a cave which he had found to be a safe refuge from the violence of Acastus. Neoptolemus makes himself known to him and they discuss the means for overthrowing their enemies. It so happens that at this time Melanippus and Pleisthenes, sons of Acastus, while hunting come to that neighborhood. Neoptolemus disguises himself by changing his clothes and joins them in their

[1] P. 41 b.
[2] Aelian, *Var. Hist.* II, 8.
[3] See Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 290 ff.; Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 335 f.
[4] VI, 7–9.

hunt. When the opportunity offers he kills them both, and afterwards a slave Cinyras, from whom he learned of the approach of Acastus. Again he disguises himself, pretending to be Mestor, a son of Priam, meets Acastus and tells him that Neoptolemus worn out by fatigue is asleep in a cave. Acastus goes there and is stopped at the entrance by Thetis who has come to seek Peleus. All the crimes that he has committed against the family of Achilles are laid before him and Acastus feels that his end has come; but Peleus will not permit Neoptolemus to kill him and gives him his liberty. Acastus, overcome by this generous act, voluntarily surrenders the royal power to Neoptolemus, who, accompanied by Peleus and Thetis and those of his sailors who had escaped from the waves, leave for the city to receive the joyful greetings of the people.

The play is referred to in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes in line 1154 according to a scholium on that passage, but whether or not the reference goes back to the first edition of the *Clouds* cannot be told. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf[1] dates it before 417 B.C.

An interesting feature of this tragedy must have been the poet's portrayal of the character of Peleus. He was not overwhelmed by his misfortunes, but in his cave was quietly making the best of his unfortunate situation.

XXXVIII

The Peliades

The *Peliades*,[2] or *Daughters of Pelias*, was the first of the plays of Euripides to be presented on the Attic stage according to the *Life* of the poet[3] which has come down from antiquity. This was in the year 455 B.C. The trilogy to which it belonged was awarded third place. Sixteen fragments amounting to

[1] *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 156.

[2] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 625 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 61 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 472 ff.

[3] Lines 30 ff. ἤρξατο δὲ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος κατ' ὀλυμπιάδα ὀγδηκοστὴν πρώτην ἔτει πρώτῳ. πρῶτον δ'ἐδίδαξε τὰς Πελιάδας ὅτε καὶ τρίτος ἐγένετο.

FIGURE 12.—THE REJUVENATION OF PELIAS. FROM A CYLIX IN ROME

about twenty-three lines are preserved, but six of these consist of but one word.

The story which served as a basis for the plot is one of the most familiar in Greek mythology. It is told by Apollodorus,[1] by Hyginus,[2] by Pausanias,[3] by Diodorus Siculus,[4] by Ovid,[5] and by still other writers. In its general outlines it is as follows.

The enchantress Medea returning with Jason from Colchis to Iolchus told the daughters of Pelias that by means of magic their aged father might have his youth renewed. In order to demonstrate her assertion she proceeded to cut up an old ram and to boil it with certain herbs, causing it to become young again. The daughters of Pelias thereupon decided to apply the same method of treatment to their aged father with most disastrous results (Fig. 12). Pelias was killed by his own children. In this way Medea was revenged upon him for the cruel wrongs which he had inflicted upon the parents of Jason. There are variations in the details of the story in different authors, but in its main outlines it is well established.[6] Sophocles used it for the plot of his *Rhizotomi*.

It is difficult to separate the treatment of the myth by Sophocles from that by Euripides. In the *Peliades* Medea seems to have spoken the prologue; but whether she introduced herself to the daughters of Pelias as a sorceress, or as being enraged at Jason can only be conjectured. The experiment on the ram must have been imagined as taking place behind the scenes. It may be that Pelias himself was duly impressed by it and eager to undergo the process of rejuvenation. The climax must have been reached with the death of Pelias; but how the play was brought to an end from this point we do not know. Apparently

[1] *Bibl.* I, 9, 27.
[2] *Fab.* 24.
[3] VIII, 11, 2 f.
[4] IV, 51 ff.
[5] *Meta.* VII, 297 ff.
[6] A brief sketch of the plot by Moses Chorenensis is quoted by Nauck, *op. cit.* pp. 162 f., but it is so short that it is of little help in reconstructing the scenes.

arrangements were made for the burial of Pelias, and Jason and Medea expelled from the land.

The subject is just the kind that a young poet might be expected to choose for a tragedy. That it, together with the other plays in the trilogy, was assigned a chorus is sufficient evidence that the group had dramatic merit, even if the judges at the actual performance did not think it worthy of a higher ranking than third place.

XXXIX

The Phaethon

The *Phaethon*[1] differs from the other lost plays of Euripides in that we have, in addition to some forty-three lines of it quoted in various authors, two[2] rather long passages preserved in a palimpsest, which, in turn, is supplemented by a papyrus in Berlin.[3] The palimpsest has long been familiar to scholars. At some time not known two folia[4] of the famous Codex Claromontanus, which dates from the sixth century, were injured and their place supplied from a manuscript which had contained the *Phaethon* of Euripides. The lines of the play were erased and part of the text of the *Epistles of Paul* written over them. The erasure was, however, not complete and various scholars, notably Friedrich Blass,[5] have worked over the manuscript and recovered from it considerable portions of the text of the lost tragedy.

[1] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 594 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 191 ff.; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hermes*, XVIII, 1883, pp. 396 ff.; Wecklein, *Sitz. Bayer. Akad.* 1888, pp. 118 ff.

[2] One is of 75 lines, the other of 74 lines. In addition there are the beginnings or ends of about 144 lines. Attempts have been made to restore these, but so little remains of the original that the restoration is very uncertain. See e.g. von Arnim, *op. cit.* pp. 68 ff.

[3] No. P. 9771, published in *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V, 2, pp. 79 ff. The passage corresponds to lines 19–47 of Frag. 781 in Nauck.

[4] Folia 162 and 163.

[5] *Dissertatio de Phaethontis Euripideae Fragmentis Claromontanis*, Kiel, 1885.

The scene of the play was laid in Ethiopia before the palace of Merops and near that of the Sun. Merops and his wife, Clymene, are arranging for the wedding of their son, Phaethon, to a bride of divine race who is not named.[1] The prologue was spoken either by Clymene, or by Phaethon, as Wecklein thought. Phaethon feels very doubtful about the proposed marriage, for his wife, he thinks, will be superior to himself. Clymene, however, reassures him and at length tells him that his real father is the Sun-god. She asks him to go to Helios and question him. The end of this scene and the choral ode which follows, that is the first stasimon of the play, are preserved. This ode is one of the finest in Euripides. The poet sings of the early morning, a theme in which he delighted. Dawn is just appearing, the Pleiades fade away, the nightingale warbles in the trees sending forth her shrill lament for Itys. The herdsmen strike up their shepherds' pipes, the horses awake and go to pasture, the huntsmen start off in pursuit of game, while in the streams the swan sounds its melodious note. The sailors hoist their sails and put to sea, praying for a fair breeze and smooth seas that they may soon get home to their wives and children. After this delightful picture of the beginning of the day, the chorus pass to the wedding of their master, for this is the day to be celebrated, and duty and love alike urge them to sing. A herald now enters to make proclamation of the event, when the passage in the palimpsest comes to an end.

In the next scene Phaethon, perhaps after further conversation with Clymene, goes to see Helios. Then, later, a messenger must have entered with news of the catastrophe which he probably recounted at length. This may well have been a very dramatic recital. He told how Helios was reluctantly persuaded to entrust his chariot to Phaethon, of his instructions to him, of the youth's erratic course, and finally how he was struck down by the

[1] There is a difference of opinion as to who she was. Rau, followed by Hartung, thinks she was Eos or Aurora; Welcker, a daughter of Oceanus; Wecklein, Silene; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Aphrodite.

thunderbolt of Zeus. A few lines of the passage in which Helios directs Phaethon in the course which he is to follow is quoted by the author of the essay on the *Sublime*[1] as a good example of vivid description.

After the narrative of the messenger the body of Phaethon, still smoking, was probably brought in and at Clymene's command was carried into the palace. The second long fragment from the palimpsest comes at this point. Merops, in ignorance of what has happened enters with a secondary chorus who are singing a marriage song. A servant comes up with reports of smoke which he has seen coming from the doors. Merops hastens to the palace where he finds the partly burned body of Phaethon. With his laments and brief comment by the chorus the text comes to an end.

How the play was brought to a close is not clear. A traditional part of the story is the lament of the Heliades for their brother. We may take it, therefore, that there was a series of laments, and the body may have been carried off the stage followed by the chorus. Such an ending seems more likely than one brought about through the use of the *deus ex machina*.

The *Phaethon* was an early play, and undoubtedly one of the stronger plays of Euripides. The popularity of the story is well attested by Ovid[2] who relates it at length. In modern times the keen regret expressed by Goethe at the loss of the *Phaethon* is worth noting.

XL

The Philoctetes

The story of the unfortunate Philoctetes, one of the great heroes of the epic cycle, was a natural subject for the Greek dramatist and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that Aeschylus and Sophocles, as well as Euripides, wrote tragedies about

[1] XV, 4.
[2] *Meta.* II, 1 ff.

him. Sophocles, in fact, wrote two.[1] His extant *Philoctetes* is one of his later plays and is generally supposed to have been influenced by the work of Euripides. The *Philoctetes* of Euripides, like that of Aeschylus, is known only from fragments and allusions to it in the authors. Fortunately Dion Chrysostom discusses it twice. In Oration LII he gives us a comparison of the tragedies bearing this name by each of the three great tragic poets; while in Oration LIX, entitled *Philoctetes*, he paraphrazes the earlier part of the play by Euripides.[2] We are thus enabled to obtain a good idea of much of the plot.

The history of Philoctetes was related at length in the *Cypria*, the *Little Iliad*, and the *Iliupersis*. The hero had been bitten on the foot by a serpent (or, according to another version, had dropped one of the poisoned arrows of Heracles on his foot) and a sore had developed which was so offensive that the other Greeks had marooned him upon the island of Lemnos. Here he had lived for ten years.[3] Such was the situation imagined by Euripides at the opening of his tragedy.[4] The scene, then, was laid on the island of Lemnos. The Greeks had learned that they could not capture Troy without the bow and arrows of Heracles which were in the possession of Philoctetes, and which had served to provide him with food. The Greeks, therefore, determine to secure them and Diomed and Odysseus go to Lemnos in disguise for that purpose. Odysseus spoke the prologue. His appearance had been so transformed by Athena that he was not recognized by Philoctetes. He explains to the latter that an embassy is coming to him from the Trojans to ask him to devote himself and his arms to the service of Troy. The disguised Odysseus

[1] Besides the extant *Philoctetes* he wrote a *Philoctetes at Troy* (Φιλοκτήτης ὁ ἐν Τροίᾳ).

[2] Both are reprinted by Nauck, *op. cit.* pp. 216 ff.

[3] The different versions of the story differ as to whether or not the island was deserted.

[4] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 512 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 348 ff.; Wecklein, *Sitz. Bayer. Akad.* 1888, pp. 127 ff.; Séchan, *op. cit.* 485 ff.; Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 336 ff.

pretends that he is an Argive who has been driven from the Greek camp by Odysseus; that the latter had contrived the death of Palamedes, and that all the latter's friends were in danger. He urges Philoctetes to join him in trying to return home, and succeeds in persuading him to let him stay with him on the island until an opportunity to escape comes.

So much of the play we gather from the paraphrase. We learn further that the chorus consisted of Lemnians, and that a Lemnian named Actor was the confidant and helper of Philoctetes.

Just how the plot was developed from this point must be left to conjecture. Apparently the embassy of the Trojans came only to be sent away unsuccessful. Then, shortly after their departure, Philoctetes had a bad attack of pain in his foot, and while he was suffering severely (or, perhaps, while he was asleep) Odysseus aided by Diomed got possession of his arms. When Philoctetes came to his senses again Odysseus revealed himself to him; but it is not known how the play was concluded. Murray believes that Odysseus decided to appeal to the better nature of Philoctetes; that he voluntarily restored his weapons to him; that Philoctetes, angry though he was, could not shoot his enemy in cold blood; and that finally they became reconciled through the intervention of Athena. If this was so Euripides in the character of Odysseus made use of a motive which we find employed by Sophocles in the case of Neoptolemus in his extant *Philoctetes*.

The distinctive features of the *Philoctetes* of Euripides as compared with that of Sophocles are the complete disguise of Odysseus, the plan which he concocts to win the confidence of Philoctetes, the embassy of the Trojans, and the character Actor.

The play was evidently a strong one as may be judged from the comment of Dion Chrysostom. It was brought out in the year 431 B.C. along with the *Medea*, the *Dictys* and the satyr drama, *Theristae*.[1] There are altogether sixteen fragments of it left with a total of thirty-four lines; but these are not especially

[1] Argument to the *Medea*.

PLATE X.—PHILOCTETES IN HIS CAVE. FROM A CRATER AT SYRACUSE

significant, and little as to its character can be gathered from them.

The story of Philoctetes was well known in Greek art as well as in the literature, both in more important works and in vase-paintings. Séchan[1] calls attention to two of the latter, one of which is here reproduced (PLATE X), which may, perhaps, go back to the *Philoctetes* of Euripides.

XLI

THE PHOENIX

The *Phoenix*[2] was one of the early tragedies of Euripides as is known from a reference to it in the *Acharnians*[3] of Aristophanes. It was thus brought out before 425 B.C., but how much before cannot be told. It was one of the more famous plays. Unfortunately our knowledge of it is very meagre, though the general outlines of the story which the poet used are known from several sources. Apollodorus,[4] for example, says that Phoenix, son of Amyntor, was tempted by Phthia, his father's concubine, and when he rejected her advances was falsely accused by her to his father, and in consequence was blinded by him. At a later time his friend Peleus led Phoenix to Chiron who cured him of his blindness. He was then made king of the Dolopians. That is about all that can be gathered about the story. Just how Euripides developed the plot of his tragedy from this material can only be conjectured. Phoenix was certainly blinded either before or during the action of the play.[5] The motive in the early part was not unlike that of the *Hippolytus*, or, again, of the *Bellerophon*; whereas in the cure of the hero's blindness it resembled the *Melanippe the Prisoner*.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 488, n. 7 and pp. 489 ff.

[2] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 803 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 69 ff.

[3] Line 421.

[4] *Bibl.* III, 13, 8. See Frazer's note on this passage for a brief notice of other sources.

[5] See Frag. 813.

Some idea of the reputation of the *Phoenix* in the time of Demosthenes may be gathered from his statement[1] that in his day it was acted by experienced actors such as Molon. About forty-five lines of it are still extant scattered among fifteen fragments, ten of which are quoted by Stobaeus.

Sophocles wrote a *Phoenix*, but probably about another part of the story.[2] The *Phoenix* of Ennius,[3] however, was probably little more than a translation of the tragedy of Euripides. A few fragments of it still survive.

XLII

The Phrixus

The *Phrixus*[4] is another tragedy dealing with the story of Ino. Its plot has long been recognized in the Second and Third *Fabulae* of Hyginus and was something as follows.

Ino, wife of Athamas, being jealous of his children Phrixus and Helle by a former wife, Nephele, determines to do away with them. She, therefore, conspires with the other women to parch the seed corn, with the result that a famine ensues causing great suffering. The king sends to the oracle at Delphi to inquire what can be done to bring relief. The messenger who was sent was bribed by Ino to say that the oracle declared that there could be no relief except by the sacrifice of Phrixus. When Phrixus learns this he resolves to die voluntarily to save his country; but the messenger struck with remorse by his manly and generous conduct tells Athamas the truth. The king enraged at the fraud gives Ino and her son Melicertes to Phrixus to put to death; but they escape somehow and leap into the sea, where they are changed into marine divinities.

[1] *De Falsa Leg.* 246, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα (i.e. the *Phoenix* of Euripides) οὐδὲ πώποτε οὔτε Θεόδωρος οὔτε Ἀριστόδημος ὑπεκρίνατο....ἀλλὰ Μόλων ἠγωνίζετο καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος τῶν παλαιῶν ὑποκριτῶν.

[2] See Pearson, *op. cit.*, II, p. 321

[3] See Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 52 ff.

[4] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 611 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 143 ff.

The mother of Phrixus and Helle now appears to them while they are wandering in the woods and gives them a ram with a golden fleece which she had received from Hermes. This ram transports them through the air; but though Phrixus is carried safely over the sea to the land of the Colchians, Helle falls off at the Hellespont and is drowned.

The prologue seems to have been spoken by Ino and the other scenes apparently followed as sketched above. The leap of Ino into the sea might well have been told by a messenger. It is not at all clear how the final scene was arranged, that is whether or not Phrixus and Helle were actually transported through the air on the ram by means of the μηχανή. This would be in keeping with the spirit of Euripides. It would be spectacular, and would produce upon the spectators the striking effect which he, as a practical dramatist, knew they would enjoy. It could be compared with the scenes in the *Bellerophon* and the *Stheneboea* in which Pegasus was made to pass through the air. At the same time it is possible that the journey of Phrixus and Helle and their subsequent fate were described by some divinity introduced as a *deus ex machina* at the conclusion of the play.

It is not known when the *Phrixus* was brought out. The scholium on the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (line 1225) which says that the line quoted in the text is from the "second" *Phrixus* is very suspicious and probably an error. Euripides seems to have written but one play with this title. There are extant eighteen fragments of the *Phrixus* with a total of forty-six lines. Sophocles, too, wrote a *Phrixus*, but very little is known about it, and but two lines of it are preserved.

XLIII

The Pleisthenes

Another tragedy of Euripides of which little is known is the *Pleisthenes*.[1] Only nine fragments of it still remain, with a

[1] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 689 f.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 542 ff.

total of seventeen lines, and they are of little assistance in reconstructing the plot. Hyginus[1] preserves the story which the poet used, though Hartung thinks that he got it from Attius rather than directly from Euripides. It is this.

Thyestes, banished by Atreus from his kingdom because of his intimacy with Aerope, the latter's wife, took with him Pleisthenes, the young son of Atreus, and brought him up as his own. Atreus supposed the boy to be dead. When, however, he had grown to manhood Thyestes sent him to kill Atreus, the youth supposing that Thyestes was his father. But Atreus slew the young man and was later informed by Thyestes that he had killed his own son. From this very brief account it is clear that the story was in the highest degree tragic, but unfortunately nothing is known of the way in which the poet developed it in his plot.

The *Pleisthenes* can be dated before 415 B.C. since one line of it[2] is also found, in slightly altered form, in the *Birds* of Aristophanes brought out in that year. Attius seems to have imitated it in his *Pelopidae*, and this is taken by Hartung to be satisfactory evidence of its fame.

XLIV

The Polyidus

The *Polyidus*,[3] or, as it was sometimes called, the *Glaucus*, was a very strange play full of the marvelous. The extant fragments of it number but fourteen with a total of thirty lines, and if it were necessary to depend upon them, our knowledge of it would be very vague indeed. But fortunately both Apollodorus[4] and Hyginus[5] have preserved the story, and their statements are supplemented by a few other brief references so

[1] *Fab.* 86.

[2] Frag. 630.

[3] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 767 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 209 ff.; Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 341 ff.

[4] *Bibl.* III, 3, 1.

[5] *Fab.* 136.

that it is possible to recover a fairly satisfactory account of the plot.

The scene was laid on the island of Crete. Polyidus, a seer, seems to have spoken the prologue and explained the situation up to the time when the action of the play began. The boy Glaucus, son of Minos and Pasiphaë, while at play fell into a great jar of honey and was drowned. Nobody knew what had become of him, and, when Minos had sought for him in vain, he consulted Apollo (or the Curetes) to find out where he was. The reply was that Minos had in his kingdom a prodigy, and that whoever could correctly interpret that could find his son. The prodigy proved to be a calf which changed color every four hours. First it was white, then red and then black. Minos, therefore, called all the wise men together and the seer Polyidus explained that the calf was like a mulberry which had three colors in succession. Polyidus was, therefore, ordered to find Glaucus. He was quite at a loss as to how he was to do this, but noticing a sea eagle flying from the sea towards the shore conjectured that the boy must be on land.[1] Then, later, he noticed an owl (γλαῦξ) perched above a wine cellar. Taking this as an omen he investigated and found the body of the child. Minos, however, demanded that he restore the boy to life; and when he declared that that was something which he was unable to do, gave him a sword and ordered him shut up in a tomb with the dead body. Polyidus saw nothing but death for himself; but as he sat in the tomb he perceived a serpent approaching the body of Glaucus and killed it. Another serpent soon after entered and finding its mate dead hastened away and then returned holding in its mouth an herb which it placed on the dead snake. The latter quickly came to life, and Polyidus following the serpents obtained some sprigs of the same herb and by means of it brought back Glaucus to life, too. He made known this fact to the watchers outside the tomb, which was opened and Glaucus restored to his father. Polyidus was given great rewards and sent back to his home.

[1] Frag. 637.

The tomb, as Hartung remarks, must have been represented on the stage, so that the imprisonment of Polyidus in it and his release could be seen by the audience.

In no other play of Euripides do we have a plot of just this sort. Alcestis, to be sure, is brought back from the dead by Heracles, but only after a physical struggle with Death himself. But the method employed to find the body of Glaucus, as well as that for restoring him to life, is unique.

The date of the Polyidus is not known, but it was later than 415 B.C.[1]

XLV

The Protesilaus

Our knowledge of the *Protesilaus*[2] of Euripides is very scanty. The ten[3] small fragments of the play with a total of fourteen lines which still exist give us little help; but a scholium on Aristides, quoted by Nauck,[4] is of more assistance. It says very briefly that Euripides wrote a play with this title and that in it he says that after one day only of married life Protesilaus was obliged to go with the Greeks to Troy; that he was the first to land there, and that he was killed. The writer then adds "They say that he begged the divinities of the Lower World and was released for one day and reunited to his wife."

Ovid[5] tells the story of Protesilaus and Laodamia at some length, and it is referred to by Lucian,[6] Apollodorus,[7] Hyginus[8] and others. There are some variations in the details

[1] Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 157.

[2] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 494 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 268 ff.; M. Mayer, *Hermes*, XX, 1885, pp. 101 ff.

[3] The four lines of Fragment 658 are also found in a Florilegium in Berlin (*Berl. Klassikertexte*, P. 9772, V, 2, p. 126, col. V, lines 2–5) where they appear in connection with a quotation from the *Melanippe Desmotis*.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 174.

[5] *Heroides*, XIII.

[6] *Dial. Dead*, 23.

[7] *Epit.* III, 29 f.

[8] *Fab.* 103 and 104.

as is natural. Thus Hyginus, who seems to be following Euripides, makes Laodamia beg for the return of Protesilaus from the Lower World; and he, too, states that this request was granted for three hours. He also relates that Laodamia could not bear her separation and that she had an image of her husband made which she kept always with her; and that, when her father found this out and had it burned, she cast herself upon the fire and so died.

Perhaps the plot may be reconstructed somewhat as follows. The scene was laid at Phylace where Iphiclus, father of Protesilaus, was king. In the prologue it may have been related that Protesilaus was obliged to go to the war after one day of married life. Then, after a choral ode news may have been brought by a messenger of the landing of the Greeks at Troy and the death of Protesilaus. A long lament by Laodamia may have followed in which she begged the gods of the Lower World for the return of her husband. Then, perhaps, followed a scene in which Protesilaus was represented as returning from the dead for a short space of time and he may then have passed from the stage in company with his wife. A messenger may have related what followed: the despair of Laodamia at the return of her husband to Hades, and the story of the image and its destruction. It is possible that she appeared again before the spectators in great grief and then rushed off to cast herself upon the fire which was destroying the image. Such a reconstruction of the tragedy is conjectural, but nothing more satisfactory is possible with our present evidence.

No other tragic poet seems to have written on this subject; and, in fact, as Mayer points out there does not seem to have been much to the story before Euripides took it up. He had a free hand and no doubt introduced innovations. The date of the play is unknown.

XLVI

The Sciron

The *Sciron*[1] was a satyr drama, but little definite information about it remains. Seven fragments of it with a total of about nine lines are quoted by ancient authors, and parts of fifteen lines from the Hypothesis and the beginning of the play were identified by Blass among the Amherst papyri.[2] These latter are, however, so badly mutilated that they are of little help.

The story of Sciron is familiar in Greek literature.[3] He was a notorious robber who lived in Megara, at a place where the highway ran along a narrow ledge in the cliff, high above the sea. Here he was in the habit of meeting travelers and, after robbing them, compelling them to wash his feet. While they were performing this service he kicked them into the sea where a huge turtle was waiting to devour them. At length the youthful Theseus came along and treated him to a dose of his own medicine. Sciron was hurled into the sea and so met his end. This exploit of the Attic hero was famous. Bacchylides mentions it in his Seventeenth Ode along with the victories over Cercyon and Procrustes. It may be that Euripides in his *Sciron* combined the characters of Sciron and Procrustes, as Boettiger inferred long ago from Fragment 677. If so he would have wider scope for his fun, for Procrustes made his victims lie down on a bed. The short men he stretched out to fit it, and the tall men he chopped off.

One can only guess how the play was constructed, but if Euripides in it followed the general scheme of the *Cyclops* it may have been somewhat as follows. The satyrs, tempted by the reports of the delights of Corinth, determine to visit that pleasure-loving city. This, perhaps, we may be justified in inferring from Fragment 676. They set out and reach the place

[1] Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 493 ff.

[2] *Amherst Papyri*, Vol. II, No. 17.

[3] For the references see Frazer, *Apollodorus*, Vol. II, p. 129, n. 2.

in Megara where Sciron is lying in wait. He promptly makes them his prisoners to their great terror. This would have taken place before the action of the play began. Sciron, no doubt, greatly increased their anxieties by dwelling on what he had done to other travelers. All this could be made very amusing. At length we must imagine that Theseus arrives and is greeted by the satyrs whom he rescues after putting an end to the wicked Sciron. Of some such nature must have been the plot. As to the date of the play nothing is known.

XLVII

The Scyrians

The *Scyrians*[1] of Euripides is a play of which we know little at first hand. Only five fragments of it with a total of nine lines have survived, but fortunately one of these (No. 683) is of help in identifying the subject of the drama. The title is cited both as Σκύριοι and Σκύριαι, but the fact that the masculine form is the one found in the Piraeus list is proof of its correctness. Its date is unknown.

The story which the poet used for his plot is told by Hyginus[2] as follows. When Thetis learned that her son Achilles would lose his life if he went to Troy she tried to save him by taking him to Lycomedes, king of the island of Scyros. Here he was dressed in women's clothes and hidden among the daughters of Lycomedes under the name of Pyrrha. The Greeks learned of his hiding-place and sent an embassy to the island to seek him out and bring him to their assistance. Lycomedes denied that Achilles was there, and permitted the embassy to examine his palace. Then Odysseus, one of the ambassadors, produced various pieces of feminine finery to the delight of the daughters of the king, but with them he exhibited a spear and shield. He

[1] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 476 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 277 ff.

[2] *Fab.* 96. Cp. also Philostratus Jun. *Imag.* 111 f.; Schol. to Lycophron, *Alex.* 277; Ovid, *Meta.* XIII, 162 ff.

then caused a trumpet to sound, upon which Achilles threw off his women's garments and seized the weapons. In this way he was found out and persuaded to go to Troy.

How the poet developed his plot must be left to the imagination. In the story as we have it there seems to be little or no room for tragedy. The incident of Odysseus and the arms may well have been the invention of Euripides. Parts of the story of Achilles at Scyros are represented on various monuments of Roman date and these are supposed by Robert[1] to go back to a painting by Athenion of Maroneia, an artist of the middle of the fourth century. Whether or not the latter was influenced by Euripides can only be conjectured.

Sophocles likewise wrote a tragedy with the same title,[2] but it is a question whether or not he used the same story for his plot.

XLVIII

The Stheneboea

The plot of the *Stheneboea*[3] is based upon the famous story of Bellerophon in the Sixth Book of the *Iliad*. There we are told that the wife of King Proetus, whom he calls Anteia, fell in love with the young hero Bellerophon, who had come to her husband's court at Tiryns. When she was unable to win his favor she falsely accused him to the king, who sent him to his father-in-law in Lycia with a secret message urging that he be put to death. Iobates, however, could not kill the youth in cold blood, but instead sent him on certain dangerous ventures, to slay the Chimaera, and to engage in combats with the Solymians and with the Amazons. Finally, when he had slain the Lycians who lay in ambush to kill him, Iobates recognized that Bellerophon

[1] *Griech. Heldensage*, p. 1109; cp. also Séchan, *op. cit.* p. 606, App. II.

[2] See Pearson, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 191 ff.

[3] See Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 494 ff.; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Class. Phil.* III, 1908, pp. 225 ff.

was under divine protection and gave him his daughter in marriage. Such is the tale in Homer. In the later poets the name of the wicked queen is Stheneboea,[1] and the country to which Bellerophon was sent is Caria.

The story up to this point was evidently related in the prologue to the *Stheneboea* of Euripides as may be inferred from the

FIGURE 13.—BELLEROPHON RECEIVES THE TABLETS FROM PROETUS IN THE PRESENCE OF STHENEBOEA. FROM AN AMPHORA AT RUVO

synopsis of it found by Rabe in a manuscript of John the Logothete,[2] and from the twenty-six lines of the prologue itself which he quotes.

The scene of the play is laid at Tiryns. Bellerophon has returned from Caria to rebuke Proetus for the plot against his

[1] See Apollodorus, *Bibl.* II, 2, 1, καὶ γαμεῖ τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα, ὡς μὲν Ὅμηρος, Ἀντειαν, ὡς δὲ οἱ τραγικοί, Σθενέβοιαν.

[2] See p. 259; also *Rh. Mus.* LXIII, 1908, pp. 146 ff.; von Arnim, *op. cit.* pp. 43 ff.

life, and here the action of the tragedy begins. He is also determined to punish Stheneboea. He, therefore, persuades her to mount upon Pegasus with him that he may take her to Caria. He then quickly flies out over the sea, and when he is in the vicinity of Melos he shakes her off and she is drowned. Some time then seems to have elapsed. Fishermen discover the dead body, pick it up and convey it to Tiryns. It may actually have been brought upon the stage. Bellerophon now returns and confesses what he has done. He thus obtains his revenge upon both the king and the queen, upon Stheneboea by bringing about her death, and upon Proetus by causing him sorrow. A very similar summary of the play is given in a scholium on Gregory of Corinth quoted by Nauck.[1]

The ending of the play as it appears in this summary is rather weak, but it was no doubt better managed on the stage. How the departure of Bellerophon and Stheneboea was represented is far from clear. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf[2] thinks that a horse provided with wings was actually brought on the stage; but it is equally possible that Euripides used the μηχανή to convey them through the air and out of sight of the spectators.[3]

The story naturally made an appeal to the vase-painters, and Séchan[4] records four different vases with scenes which may go back to the *Stheneboea* of Euripides, one of which is here reproduced (Fig. 13).

The play was an early one, perhaps brought out between 440 and 432 B.C. Before the discovery by Rabe but nine fragments of it were known with a total of twenty-six lines.

[1] Schol. from Medicean codex of Gregory of Corinth on Hermogenes περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος, XXX, 15, quoted in part by Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* Vol. VII, p. 1321; Nauck, *op. cit.* III, pp. 176 f.; Engelmann, *Arch. Stud. zu den Trag.* pp. 84 ff.

[2] *Class. Phil.* III, 1908, p. 229.

[3] Compare the plot of the *Bellerophon*, p. 233.

[4] *Op. cit.* pp. 494 ff.

XLIX

The Syleus

In the satyr drama *Syleus*[1] Euripides again turned to Heracles to amuse his audience, as he had done in the *Busiris* and the *Eurystheus*, and made him the chief character in the play. The story which he used for his plot is not so generally known

Figure 14.—Heracles and Syleus. From a Cylix formerly in the Campana Collection

today as the other adventures of the hero, though it seems to have been familiar enough in antiquity. It was this:

In a fit of madness Heracles had hurled Iphitus from the walls of Tiryns and so killed him,[2] and as a result he was afflicted with some disease. The oracle at Delphi declared that he could become well only by serving as a slave. Hermes, therefore,

[1] See Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 160 ff.; O. Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* XVIII, 1861, cols. 157–163.

[2] Apollodorus, *Bibl.* II, 6, 2; cp. Homer, *Odys.* XXI, 23 ff.

sold him to Omphale,[1] as the tale is usually told; but it would seem from Philo,[2] who has preserved seventeen of the twenty-one lines extant, and likewise from Tzetzes that according to Euripides he was sold direct to Syleus. However that may be, he was found serving Syleus at the beginning of the play. The latter apparently lived at Phyllis,[3] near Amphipolis, in Thrace and forced passersby to work for him. In this way the satyrs who formed the chorus had presumably fallen into his hands. But Heracles when sent to work tore up the vines, sacrificed to Zeus the finest of his bulls and feasted on it, broke wine jars, drank quantities of wine, and finally, when Syleus strenuously objected, killed him and his daughter Xenodice.

The fun in the play no doubt was occasioned by the difficulties which Syleus had in trying to manage his troublesome slave. Many amusing situations must have developed, in which the chorus of satyrs certainly had a part.

The Greek vase-painters evidently enjoyed the story, and various parts of it are to be found on extant vases.[4] See Fig. 14.

The date of the *Syleus* is unknown.

L

The Telephus

The *Telephus*[5] was one of the most famous plays of Euripides, and of all his lost tragedies is probably the best known by name

[1] See Apollodorus, *ibid.* and Frazer's note on the passage, *Apollodorus*, I, p. 240, n. 2.

[2] Vol. II, p. 461; ed. Cohn and Reiter, Vol. VI, p. 29, lines 16 ff.; also Tzetzes, *prol. Aristoph.* quoted by Nauck, *op. cit.* p. 185, and Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1861, col. 157, n. 3.

[3] The text of Apollodorus has Αὐλίδι, for which we should read with Hercher Φυλλίδι. See Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Herakles*, ed. 2, I, p. 73, n. 134.

[4] Roscher, *Lexikon Gr. Rom. Mythologie*, s. v. Syleus, IV, cols. 1621 f.; also O. Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1861, pls. 149 and 150.

[5] Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 477 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* I, pp. 196 ff.; Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 351 f.; Séchan, *op. cit.* pp. 512 ff.; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V, 2, p. 69 f.

today because of the attention given to it by Aristophanes in the *Acharnians*.[1] It was an early play, brought out in 438 B.C. in the tetralogy which included the *Alcestis*.[2] Thirty-two fragments of it are preserved, the longest being six and one-half lines. Altogether they make about fifty-eight lines.

The scene of the drama was laid at Argos, and the prologue was evidently spoken by Telephus. He was the son of Heracles and Auge. He had arrived in Mysia either as a baby, or as a young man, had been adopted by the king,[3] and was himself king of the country when the Greeks on their way to Troy landed and ravaged the land, thinking it Trojan territory. Telephus, however, beat them back, but in the engagement was wounded in the thigh by Achilles. The Greeks then withdrew; but the wound did not heal, for the spear which made it was a famous one given by Chiron to Peleus, father of Achilles who alone could wield it. Upon consulting the oracle Telephus learned that his wound could be healed only by the weapon which had caused it. He, therefore, resolved to go to Argos in disguise and contrive in some way to be cured. After their failure in Mysia the Greeks had returned home and it was not until eight years later, according to Apollodorus[4] that they reassembled at Aulis for another start. In the guise of a beggar, therefore, Telephus presented himself at the palace of Agamemnon. All of this must have been set forth in the prologue.

Apparently Telephus meets Clytaemnestra and wins her sympathy. He is, however, suspected by the Greek chiefs, for apparently he defends the attitude of the Mysians towards them. Odysseus accuses him of being a spy, when, seeing his life in danger, Telephus seizes the infant Orestes and takes refuge at the altar, threatening to kill him if he is molested. He explains who

[1] Lines 430 ff.
[2] Hypothesis to *Alcestis*.
[3] See the *Auge*, p. 228.
[4] *Epit.* III, 19.

he is and why he has come. An oracle is now brought forward which states that the Greeks cannot take Troy without the aid of Telephus. He promises to show them the way if they will cure his wound. Achilles objects, but a salve is at length made from rust scraped from the spear-point which wounded him and he is cured. The play was then probably brought to an end by the

FIGURE 15.—TELEPHUS THREATENS THE INFANT ORESTES. FROM A HYDRIA IN NAPLES

chiefs deciding to resume the expedition with Telephus acting as guide for the Greek fleet.

There are numerous ancient references[1] to this story which was derived originally from the *Cypria*. It has been plausibly suggested that the threat against the life of Orestes was a motive invented by Euripides, not previously forming a part of the

[1] E.g. Hyginus, *Fab.* 101; Libanius, *Declamatio*, V, 8 ff.; Apollodorus, *Epit.* III, 17 ff., etc.

myth, though it has also been claimed for Aeschylus, who likewise wrote a *Telephus*. Sophocles used the story for his Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος.[1] The play by Euripides seems to have been the basis for the *Telephus* of Ennius.[2]

So famous a tale would naturally not be overlooked by the painters of vases, and, in fact, Séchan[3] records three vases showing Telephus at the altar threatening Orestes (Fig. 15). These paintings may well have been inspired by the drama of Euripides.

LI

The Temenidae

Two tragedies of Euripides about which our information is very unsatisfactory are the *Temenus* and the *Temenidae*.[4] In fact so little is known about them that some authorities have believed them to be one and the same.[5] Nauck, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and others, however, regard them as different plays, and the evidence seems to be on their side. There would certainly be sufficient material for two tragedies in the adventures of Temenus and his sons.

The plot of the *Temenidae* evidently dealt with the later part of their history, that is, after the death of Temenus. In the prologue it was probably related how Temenus made his son-in-law Deiphontes his confidential adviser and the general of his army, and how his sons, with the exception of the youngest, Agelaus, plotted his death. Temenus, before he died, directed that Deiphontes and his wife Hyrnetho should succeed him in the sovereignty. This they did with the consent of the army; and the wicked sons were banished. The plot was evidently

[1] For a brief discussion of the three plays see Pearson, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 94 ff.

[2] Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 56 f.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 509 ff.

[4] The form *Temenides* is also found.

[5] For a discussion of the plot see Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 697 ff.; Hartung, *op. cit.* II, pp. 39 ff.; and Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 348 ff.

largely concerned with the efforts of the latter to drive out Deiphontes and to recover their father's kingdom. Apparently they were partly successful, for Pausanias makes the oldest, Ceisus, his father's successor.[1] Deiphontes with part of his army went to Epidaurus where Pityreus, the local king, surrendered the land to him.[2] Here with his wife Hyrnetho he lived for a time in security. But Cerynes and Phalces knowing that they could hurt Deiphontes most by separating him from Hyrnetho, plotted to do so. They came to Epidaurus and asked to speak to their sister before the walls of the town. When she came out to meet them they tried to persuade her to leave her husband, and, when she indignantly refused, seized her and attempted to carry her off. Deiphontes was quickly informed and came to her rescue. He shot Cerynes, but Phalces clung so closely to Hyrnetho that Deiphontes could not shoot him. In the struggle which ensued Hyrnetho, who was with child, was so badly injured that she died. Phalces escaped; but Deiphontes and his children bore the body of Hyrnetho to a spot where they erected a shrine in her honor, known later as the Hyrnethium and still pointed out in the time of Pausanias.[3]

This seems to have been the material which Euripides used for his plot. How he treated it can only be conjectured. Fourteen fragments amounting in all to thirty-five lines are preserved from the play, but they are of little help for a reconstruction. The story of the descendants of Temenus, that is the Temenidae, in Macedonia[4] (see the *Archelaus*) does not seem to have had a part in the *Temenidae* of Euripides.

In *Monuments Grecs*, No. 8, 1879, pp. 2 ff. H. Weil publishes forty-four lines of an unidentified tragedy written on papyrus which he thinks may have been the *Temenidae*. The text appears in two copies, the same lines being written on both

[1] II, 19, 1.
[2] Pausanias, II, 26, 2.
[3] II, 28, 3 ff.
[4] Herodotus, VIII, 137 f.

the recto and the verso of the papyrus. A woman is speaking and imploring her father not to separate her from her husband and give her to another man. This would not accord with the story of the *Temenidae* as we now have it. Weil suggests that Euripides may have represented Hyrnetho as the grand-daughter, not the daughter, of Temenus. In that case the lines might be assigned to her.

LII

The Temenus

Even less is known about the *Temenus* than about the *Temenidae*, but it seems safe to say that they were distinct plays. Ten fragments of it (five of them consisting of a single word) are quoted by Stobaeus and others, and they have a total of about nine lines.

Temenus was the Heraclid who led the descendants of Heracles upon their victorious expedition for the conquest of the Peloponnesus, otherwise known as the Dorian invasion. According to the story Temenus and his two brothers, Cresphontes and Aristodemus, decided to attack the Peloponnesus by crossing the Gulf of Corinth. They, therefore, constructed a fleet at Naupactus. While they were engaged in this work Aristodemus was struck by lightning and killed, but he left two sons, Eurystheus and Procles. Disaster, however, came upon the enterprise as the result of the slaying of a prophet of Apollo, Carnus. The ships were destroyed and there was a famine. Temenus applied to Apollo at Delphi and was told to make an offering in atonement for the death of Carnus, and to seek as a guide for his expedition a man with three eyes. Meeting a one-eyed Aetolian exile named Oxylus riding on a horse he took him for his guide. The ships were refitted. They sailed across the Gulf without accident and fought a great battle in which Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, then the great king at Argos, was defeated and slain. In this way they became masters of the land. Elis was set aside

for Oxylus; but they drew lots for the remaining portions of the Peloponnesus. Argos fell to Temenus, Sparta to the sons of Aristodemus and Messenia by a trick to Cresphontes.[1]

Such seems to have been the story which Euripides used for the plot of his *Temenus*. He may have continued it up to the death of the hero and the succession of Deiphontes and Hyrnetho, though the adventures of the latter evidently belonged to the plot of the *Temenidae*. The device by which Cresphontes secured Messenia and his subsequent death with his two sons may, however, have been related in the play.

The date of the *Temenus* is unknown.[2]

LIII

The Theristae

In the Hypothesis to the *Medea* of Euripides[3] we find the statement that in the archonship of Pythodorus, in the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, that is in the year 431 B.C., Euripides won third place with the *Medea*, the *Philoctetes*, the *Dictys* and the satyr drama *Theristae*. Then follow the words οὐ σώζεται, evidently meaning that the *Theristae* was not preserved at the time that the notice was written. This is all that is known about the play, and if it were not for this mention of it notice of it would not have been included here. Apparently not a scrap of it has come down to modern times. Who the "Reapers" were, or what part they played in the drama we have no means of knowing. Welcker's conjecture that it was the same as the *Syleus* is rightly rejected by Hartung.[4] There seems to have been no place for reapers in that play. The silence of antiquity in regard to the *Theristae* is evidently to be explained by the fact that it became lost in early times. Nothing more can be said about it.

[1] See Pausanias, IV, 3, 3 ff.
[2] See p. 110.
[3] See p. 155.
[4] *Op. cit.* I, p. 374.

LIV

The Theseus

The *Theseus*[1] is another play of which we know comparatively little. The chief incident in it seems to have been the exploit of the youthful hero in slaying the Minotaur, but by what steps the poet led up to this and what followed is not recorded. We can, however, make a plausible conjecture as to the construction of the plot.[2]

The scene was laid before the palace of Minos in Crete. Ariadne, daughter of Minos, spoke the prologue in which she seems to have told the story of the seven youths and seven maidens sent from Athens to Cnossus as tribute to the Minotaur. Very likely she denounced this cruel exaction on the part of her father, and expressed pity for the unfortunate victims. A herdsman then seems to have entered and told of the arrival of another ship once more bringing the required tribute. He cannot read, but he describes the letters which make up the name of their leader. Where he saw these letters is not clear. Welcker thought they were written on the sand, but it seems more likely that they were inscribed somewhere on the ship. They spell THESEUS. This is Fragment 385, the longest and most interesting of the fragments preserved.

The seven youths and seven maidens were then probably conducted into the presence of Minos who was accompanied by Ariadne. She sees Theseus, falls in love with him and determines to help him. She secretly gives him a ball of thread so that he may find his way out of the labyrinth. Theseus departs, and after a time a messenger, perhaps one of the seven youths,

[1] See Welcker, *op. cit.* pp. 733 ff.; Hartung, *op cit.* I, pp. 547 ff.; Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 351 f.

[2] There are many references in the literature to the story of Theseus and the Minotaur, but they cannot be definitely connected with the tragedy of Euripides except in a few cases where there is an explicit statement, as in Tzetzes, *Chil.* XI, 555, or where quotations are made from it. In the same way it was a favorite subject with the vase painters, but no painting can be traced to the play.

brings back an account of his combat with the Minotaur and his victory over the monster. After that Theseus probably returns and meets Ariadne and together they plan to flee. Whether Minos then discovers the situation and is about to capture the lovers when they are saved by Athena as *deus ex machina*, or how the play was brought to an end must be left to conjecture; but in the absence of definite information we may imagine the plot to have been something of this nature.

There are but thirteen fragments of the *Theseus*, with a total of thirty-two lines, still preserved. It is referred to in the *Wasps*[1] of Aristophanes, and so may be dated before 422 B.C.

LV

The Thyestes

The *Thyestes* of Euripides is an obscure play in spite of the fact that Thyestes himself is one of the most tragic figures in Greek mythology and his story well known. Welcker[2] thought the play to be identical with the *Cretan Women*, as did Valckener and Nauck,[3] but the presence of the name on the list of plays found at the Piraeus shows clearly that it was an independent tragedy. It is also referred to by Aristophanes in the *Acharnians*.[4] Seven fragments of it with a total of thirteen lines are quoted in the literature, but they are not significant. The reference in Aristophanes shows that it was written before 425 B.C.

At least five tragedies with the title *Thyestes* are known to have been written by the Greek tragic poets, two of them by Sophocles;[5] and the Roman poet Ennius also wrote one. A few fragments of the last mentioned still exist,[6] but there is no way of finding out whether, as so often happened, he based his plot on that of Euripides or not.

[1] Line 312.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 675 ff.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 103.
[4] Line 433, ἄνωθεν τῶν θυεστείων ῥακῶν.
[5] See Pearson, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 185 ff.
[6] Ribbeck, *op. cit.* I, pp. 57 ff.

The life of Thyestes was a life of crime. According to one story,[1] with his brother Atreus he slew his half-brother Chrysippus; then later he seduced the wife of Atreus, with whom he quarreled for the sovereignty; was banished by Atreus, but was afterwards called back and served the flesh of his own children at a banquet. He reared the young son of Atreus as his own and sent him to kill his own father; and finally be became the father of Aegisthus by his daughter Pelopia. What part of this horrible tale of crime Euripides chose for his plot cannot be definitely determined, but there are hints. Thus the story of Pleisthenes was told in the tragedy of that title; his intrigue with Aerope may have been introduced in the *Cretan Women*. These incidents, then, may with much probability be eliminated. This would leave his quarrel with Atreus leading up to the horrible banquet, and the incest with Pelopia as possible themes for the plot. The banquet of Thyestes was so notorious that it would seem that it must have had a part in the tragedy, but more than that cannot now be said about it. Very likely the play became lost at an early date.

[1] Hyginus, *Fab.* 85.

APPENDIX

Euripides in the Papyri

Euripides is well represented in the literary papyri which have been brought to light in Egypt in modern times. A list is here given of those which have been published up to the present time. Besides the amount of the text preserved, the date of the papyrus is given, as well as the place where it is published. Where a papyrus has been published more than once no attempt has been made to give a complete bibliography.

It has seemed best to include in this list a few fragments of Euripides written on other material than papyrus, such as a small piece of the *Hippolytus Crowned* on an ostrakon in Berlin, and some longer passages on parchment. These are duly noted.

In the list which follows the volumes of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, in which many of the fragments are published, are abbreviated *Ox. Pap;* and the *Berliner Klassikertexte* as *Berl. Klas.*

1. Alcestis, lines 1155–1163. See also ending of Andromache, Bacchae, Helen, and, with change of one line, Medea. *Hibeh Papyri*, No. 25, pp. 113 f. Date 280–240 B.C.

2. Andromache, lines 5–28 (omitting 7); 30–36; 39–48. *Ox. Pap.* No. 449, Vol. III, pp. 101 ff. Date third century A.D.

3. Antiope. 123 lines from end of play. Mahaffy in *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff. See also von Arnim, *Supplementum Euripideum*, pp. 18 ff. Date third century B.C.

4. Archelaus. 16 fragmentary lines. Cp. Nauck, Frag. 247. *Ox. Pap.* No. 419, Vol. III, pp. 65 f. Date second or third century A.D.

5. Cretans. 52 lines on a parchment leaf. *Berl. Klas.* No. 217, Vol. V, 2, pp. 73 ff. See also von Arnim, *op. cit.* pp. 22 ff. Date second century A.D.

6. Electra. Part of the Hypothesis. *Ox. Pap.* No. 420, Vol. III, pp. 66 f. Date third century A.D.

7. Hecuba, lines 700–703 and 737–740. *Ox. Pap.* No. 876, Vol. VI, pp. 182 f. Date fifth century A.D.

8. Hecuba, lines 1252–1269 and 1271–1280. *Ox. Pap.* No. 877, Vol. VI, pp. 183 f. Date third century A.D.

9. Hippolytus Crowned, lines 243–367; 375–430 and 492–515 from a parchment book. *Berl. Klas.* No. P. 5005, Vol. V, 2, pp. 88 ff. Date sixth century A.D.

10. Hippolytus Crowned, lines 403–423, with the omission of lines 405, 411 and 412, and with the addition of an interpolated line after 407. From part of a Florilegium in Berlin. *Berl. Klas.* No. P. 9772, Vol. V, 2, p. 127. Date second century B.C.

11. Hippolytus Crowned, lines 616–624 on an ostrakon in Berlin, *Berl Klas.* No. 4758, Vol. V, 2, pp. 96 f. Date second century B.C.

12. Hypsipyle. Parts of nearly 1700 lines in over 200 fragments. some of them very small. About 300 lines are complete or nearly so. *Ox. Pap.* No. 852, Vol. VI, pp. 19 ff. See also von Arnim, *op. cit.* pp. 48 ff. Date late second or early third century A.D.

13. Hypsipyle. 20 fragmentary lines identified by F. Petersen, *Hermes*, XLIX, 1914, p. 156. *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Vol. II, 49 (c), now British Museum Papyri No. 590. Date not given.

14. Hypsipyle (?) Parts of 9 lines. H. J. M. Milne (*Cl. Rev.* 1926, p. 64) thinks this belongs to Flinders Petrie Papyri II, 49 (c). *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Vol. II, 49 (d) DX. Date not given.

15. Ino. Lines 3 and 4 of Fragment 407 (Nauck), quoted by Satyrus in his *Life of Euripides*, Col. XVII, lines 1–7. *Ox. Pap.* No. 1176, Vol. IX, pp. 124 ff. Date second century A.D.

16. Iphigenia among the Taurians, lines 174–191 (omitting 178); 245–255; 272–286; 581–595; and 600–629 (omitting 628). *Hibeh Papyri*, No. 24, pp. 108 ff. Date 280–240 B.C.

17. Medea, lines 5–12. Weil, *Monuments Grecs*, No. 8, 1879, Pt. II, pp. 16 ff. Date before 161 B.C.

18. Medea, lines 20–26 and 57–63. *Ox. Pap.* No. 1370, Vol. XI, pp. 126 ff. Date fifth century A.D.

19. Medea, lines 507; 513–517; and 545–560. *Berl. Klas.* No. 243, Vol. V, 2, pp. 97 f. Date fifth century A.D.

20. Medea, lines 710–715. *Ox. Pap.* No. 450, Vol. III, p. 103. Date third century A.D.

21. Melanippe Desmotis. 50 lines, some consisting of a few letters

only, from a parchment book. *Berl. Klas.* No. P. 5514, Vol. V, 2, pp. 84 ff. Date fifth century A.D.

22. Melanippe Desmotis. 29 lines from a Florilegium in Berlin. *Berl. Klas.* No. P. 9772, Vol. V, 2, pp. 125 f. Date second century B.C.

23. Melanippe Desmotis. Lines 5–15 of the fragment published in *Berl. Klas.* Vol. V, 2, pp. 125 f. (No. 22 above), quoted in the *Life of Euripides* by Satyrus, Col. XI, lines 1–30. *Ox. Pap.* No. 1176, Vol. IX, pp. 125 ff. Date second century A.D.

24. Oeneus (?). Two small fragments, the largest having parts of six lines. P. B. Grenfell, *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment*, Vol. II, p. 1. Date first century B.C.

25. Oeneus (?) Parts of 78 lines. *Hibeh Papyri*, No. 4, p. 21. Date 300–280 B.C.

26. Orestes, lines 53–61 and 89–97. Leaf of vellum codex. *Ox. Pap.* No. 1616, Vol. XIII, pp. 163 f. Date fifth century A.D.

27. Orestes, lines 338–343 with musical notes attached. *Rainer Papyri*, No. 8029, Vol. V, pp. 65 ff. Date about 1 A.D.

28. Orestes, lines 1062–1090 (omitting 1086 and 1087). Nicole, *R. de Philologie*, XIX, 1895, pp. 105 ff.

29. Orestes, lines 445–449; 469–473; 482–486; 508–512; 685–690; 723–729; 811–817; 850–854; 896–898; 907–910; 934–936; 945–948; 1248–1262; 1297–1305; 1334–1345 and 1370–1371. *Ox. Pap.* No. 1370, Vol. XI, pp. 126 ff. Date fifth century A.D.

30. Orestes, lines 1313–1350 and 1356–1360. *Ox. Pap.* No. 1178, Vol. IX, pp. 184 ff. Date early part of first century B.C.

31. Phaethon. 19 lines to be written as 35. *Berl. Klas.* No. P. 9771, Vol. V, 2, pp. 79 ff. Date third century B.C.

32. Phoenissae, lines 105–118 and 128–140. Ostrakon (red pottery fragment) inscribed by a school-boy. Many mistakes. *Class. Rev.* XVIII, 1904, p. 2. Date second century B.C.

33. Phoenissae, lines 171–185 and 200–226. *Ox. Pap.* No. 1177, Vol. IX, pp. 182 ff. Date early first century A.D.

34. Phoenissae, lines 1017–1043 and 1064–1071. *Ox. Pap.* No. 224, Vol. II, pp. 114 ff. Date third century A.D.

35. Phoenissae, lines 1097–1107 and 1126–1137, on a wooden tablet. *Rainer Papyri*, Vol. V, pp. 74 ff. Date fourth or fifth century A.D.

36. Phoenissae. Fragment reported in *Jour. of Egypt Arch.* I, 1914, p. 176 in the Johnson Collection, exact lines not given, noted by Oldfather, *Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, p. 21. Date fifth or sixth century A.D.

37. Protesilaus. The four lines of Fragment 658 (Nauck) are found in a Florilegium in Berlin quoted in connection with the Melanippe Desmotis (see No. 22 above). *Berl. Klas.* No. P. 9772, Vol. V, 2, p. 126 (Col. V, lines 2–5). Date second century B.C.

38. Rhesus, lines 48–96, i.e. 48–70; 71–96. In Bibl. Nat., Paris. Wilcken, *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* 1887, pp. 813 ff. Date fourth or fifth century A.D.

39. Sciron. Part of the Hypothesis with broken lines of the beginning, 15 fragmentary lines in all. *Amherst Papyri*, Vol. II, No. 17. Date sixth or seventh century A.D.

40. Temenidae (?). 44 lines in two copies, i.e. the same lines are repeated on the recto and on the verso of the papyrus. Weil, *Monuments Grecs*, No. 8, 1879, Pt. I, pp. 2 ff. Date before 161 B.C.

41. Troades, lines 876–879 on a wax tablet. *Berl. Klas.* Vol. V, 2, p. 98. Date first century A.D.

42. With these fragments should be included the *Life of Euripides* by Satyrus, (cp. above Nos. 15 and 23), *Ox. Pap.* No. 1176, Vol. IX, pp. 124 ff.; von Arnim, *Supplementum Euripideum*, pp. 3 ff.

INDEX

Acastus, 272 f.
Achilles, 289 f.; 295
Acrisius, 243 f.
Actor, 280
Actors, number in *Rhesus*, 193
Admetus, 59; 62 f.
Adrastus, 194
Aegeus, 158; 204
Aegeus, the, 204
Aegisthus, 86 ff.
Aeolus, 205; 259
Aeolus, the, 205
Aerope, 241 f.
Aeschylus
— excelled in satyr drama, 85
— influence in *Rhesus*, 190
— *Pentheus*, the, 75
— Prologues, 26
Aethra, 194
Agamemnon, 147 ff.
Agave, 73 ff.
— with head of Pentheus, 75; 78
Aged character ridiculous, 52 f.
Agrius, 267 f.
Albani monument, 16
Alcestis, 59; 63
Alcestis, the, 58
— date, 58
— supernatural element, 61
Alcmaeon, 208
Alcmaeon at Corinth, the, 210
Alcmaeon at Psophis, the, 58; 207
Alcmena, 107 ff.; 212
Alcmena, the, 211
Alexander the Great, 18
Alexander, the, 213
Alope, 215
Alope, the 215
Alphesiboea, 209
Althaea, 262 f.
Amphiaraus, 208; 251 ff.
Amphion, 224
Amphitryon, 103 ff.; 212 f.; 257
Anapaests elsewhere than in first place in line, 81 n.
Anaxagoras, 7
Andromache, the, 65; 198
— date, 65
— a second-rate play, 68
Andromeda, 19; 216
Andromeda, the, 216
Andronicus, 70
Animals on stage, 31 f.
Antigone, 180; 219 ff.
— on roof of palace, 177; 183
Antigone, the, 219 ff.
Antiope, 223 ff.
Antiope, the, 223 ff.
Aphrodite, 111
Apollo, as deus ex machina, 171
Archelaus, 225 ff.
— king of Macedonia, 12; 18
Archelaus, the, 225 ff.
Archemorus, 251 ff.
Argos, the *Andromache* first produced at, 66
Ariadne, 301 f.
Aristophanes as critic of Euripides, 3 f.
Aristophanes of Byzantium, 167; 172.
Aristotle says that the old stories are known to few 24 n. 4
Atalanta, 262 f.
Athamas, 254 f.; 282.
Athena, 188
— as deus ex machina, 143
Athens, as guardian of law, 195

Athletes, 231
Atreus, 284
Attius, 75
Auge, 227 ff.; 295
Auge, the, 227
Autolycus, 230 ff.
Autolycus, the, 230

Babe
— suckled by doe, 228
— suckled by mare, 215
Babes suckled by cow, 259
Bacchae, the, 71
— brought out after death of Euripides, 71
— line imitated by Nonnus, 79
Bacchus, 71
Bellerophon, 232 ff.; 290 f.
Bellerophon, the, 232 ff.
Biographies of Euripides, 2
Bull from sea, 114
Burning brand, 262
Busiris, 234 f.
Busiris, the, 234 f.

Cadmus, 71
Calchas, 139; 147
Callirrhoe, 209
Calydonian boar, 262
Canace, 205
Capaneus, 195
Cassandra, 198 ff.; 214
Cassiepea, 216
Catreus, 241 f.
Cepheus, 216 ff.
Cerberus, 248 f.
Cercyon, 215
Child motive in
— the *Alcestis* 49 f.
— the *Andromache*, 49
— the *Hecuba*, 50
— the *Heracles Furens*, 46 f.
— the *Heraclidae*, 44
— the *Ion*, 48
— the *Ipigenia at Aulis*, 50
Child motive in the *Medea*, 43
— the *Suppliants*, 45
— the *Troades*, 48
Children,
— fondness of Greek for, 42
— introduced to excite pity, 51
— speak, 42
Choephoroe of Aeschylus, 85
Chorus, 33
— language, 34
— of huntsmen, 112
Christus Patiens, 75 f.
Chrysippus, 235 ff.
Chrysippus, the, 235 ff.
Cisseus, 226
Clito, 6
Clymene, 241 f.; 277
Clytaemnestra, 87 f.; 148 ff.; 295
Codex Claromontanus, 276
Corinth, 155
Costuming, 31
Crassus, 20
Creon, 156; 210; 219 f.
Cresphontes, 239; 299 f.
Cresphontes, the, 238 ff.
Cretan Women, the, 58; 241 f.
Creusa, 118 ff.; 155
Crimea, 138
Critias, 16; 203
Cups with scenes from plays of Euripides, 20 f.
Curetes, 263
Cyclops, bumps head on rocks, 81
Cyclops, the, 80

Danaë, 243 ff.
Danaë, the, 243 ff.
Deiphontes, 297 f.
Delphi, 118
Democrates, 66
Demophon, 108
Deus ex machina, 27
— used to produce startling effects, 28
— its place recognized by Aristotle, 28
— used by Aeschylus, 28
— used by Sophocles, 28

Dictys, 243
Dictys, the, 244 f.
Didascaliae, 15; 185; 197
Diomed, 188; 193; 280
Dion Chrysostom, 279
Dionysiaca of Nonnus, 75
Dionysus, 71; 78
— god with bull's horns, 72
— sewn in thigh of Zeus, 72
Dioscuri, 88
Dirce, 224
Dogs on stage, 32
Dolon, 187
Dositheus, 236
Double entendre, 51 f.; 54 f.
Dramatic types, 32

Early morning in opening scenes, 112; 118; 277
Eccyclema, 29
— used by Aeschylus, 29
— used by Sophocles, 29
Echo, 217
Egypt, 96
Electra, 89; 167 ff.
Electra, the, 85
— last of Greek tragedies published in modern times, 91
— innovations in story, 90
Eleusis, 194
Ennius, translated *Hecuba*, 95
Epeus, 245 f.
Epeus, the, 245 f.
Epopeus, 223 f.
Eratosthenes, *Chronographia*, 2
Erechtheus, 246 f.
Erechtheus, the, 246 f.
Eretria, underground passage in theatre, 30
Erichthonius, 135
Eriphyle, 208
Eteocles, 178 ff.
Eumolpus, 246 f.
Euripides
— as lyric poet, 35
Euripides as painter, 6
— began to write at age of eighteen, 7
— buried near Arethusa, 13
— cave on Salamis, 13
— characters speak like Athenians of his own time, 41
— child motive, 42
— criticizes Aeschylus in *Electra*, 87
— date of death, 13
— great tragic characters rare, 37
— hater of women, 14
— heroines, 37
— killed by hunting dogs, 12
— parodied by Aristophanes, 113
— prologues, 22
— prologues, length, 23 f.
— pity an important element in his tragedy, 40
— produces effect by tragic situations, 39
— scenes from plays in cups, 20 f.
— stage philosopher, 9
— titles of plays, 36
— tragedies with happy endings, 39
— tragedy not tragedy of Fate, 39
— won first chorus, 7
— wrote 92 dramas, 13; 15
Eurydice, 252
Eurystheus, 110; 247 ff.
Eurystheus, the, 247 ff.
Evadne, 195 f.

Faithful slave, 33
Furies, 144

Goethe, 146
Ghost
— of Achilles, 91
— of Polydorus, 92
Ghosts, 30
Glaucus, 233 f.; 285
Glaucus, the, 284
Gorgon, 245

Haemon, 219 ff.

Hector, 186 ff.
Hecuba, 198 ff.; 214
Hecuba, the, 91
— no messenger, 94
— much read in Middle Ages, 93
Helen, 168 ff.; 199
Helen, the, 95
— last lines, 100
Helle, 282 f.
Heracles, 63; 220; 228 ff.
Heracles Furens, the, 103
Heraclidae, the, 107
Hermann, 95
Hermes, 225
Hermione, 66; 69; 171
Hermippus of Smyrna, 2
Herodotus, 101
Hippodamia, 269 ff.
Hippolyte, 111
Hippolytus, 249 f.
Hippolytus Crowned, the, 111
Hippolytus Veiled, the, 249 f.
Hippothoon, 215
Humor, 51 ff.
Hunting dogs, 99; 102
Hyades, 212
Hypsipyle, 250 ff.
Hypsipyle, the, 250 ff.
Hyrnetho, 297 ff.

Ichneutae, the, 19; 80
Iliad, the, 186
Ino, 254 f.; 282
Ino, the, 254 f.
Iolaus, 107 ff.
Ion, 117
Iphigenia, change in attitude, 149; 153
Iphigenia among Taurians, the, 138
Iphigenia at Aulis, the, 146
— evidence of rewriting, 150
Iris, 104
Ixion, 256
Ixion, the, 255 f.

Jason, 155 ff.; 165; 252; 275 f.
Jocasta, 265 f.
John Malalas, 211; 240

Laius, 235 ff.; 264 ff.
Laodamia, 286 f.
Lemnos, 279
Licymnius, 257 f.
Licymnius, the, 257 f.
Lightning, 258
Lussa, 104
Lycians, 187
Lycomedes, 289
Lycurgus, 16; 246
Lycus, 104
Lysander, 86 f.
— as son of Apollo, 138

Macareus, 205
Macaria, 108
Madness, 104
Marathon, 107
Mechane, 27
Medea, 155 ff.; 204; 275
— kills her children, 162
— a powerful tragic character, 165
— sends poisoned gifts to Creusa, 159
Medea, the, 154
— argument that it has been reworked, 163
— played in modern times, 164
— purpose of play, 165 f.
Medeas by inferior poets, 163 ff.
Medus, 204
Megara, 106
Melos, 201
Melanippe, 258 ff.
Melanippe the Wise, the, 258 ff.
Melanippe the Prisoner, the, 260 f.
Meleager, 262 ff.
Meleager, the, 262 ff.
Melicertes, 255
Menelaus, 66; 70; 96; 147 ff.; 168 f.
Menander, influenced by Euripides, 18
Merope, 239 f.; 266
Merops, 277 f.

Messenger, 32 f.
Metapontus, 260 f.
Minos, 240; 285
Minotaur, 240; 301 f.
Miracle, 108
Mnesarchus, 6
Morning scene, 112; 118; 277
Moses Chorenensis, 229
Muse, 188
Musical notation on papyri, 175
Myrtilus, 269 ff.
Mystae, 241

Nauplius, 228
Nemea, 250
Nemean Games, 252
Neoptolemus, 66 f.
Nephele, 282
Nero, 91; 107
Night, time of the *Rhesus*, 192
Nonnus, 75

Odysseus, 82 ff.; 188; 193; 289 f.
Odyssey, the, 101
Oedipus, 180; 264 ff.
Oedipus, the, 264 ff.
Oedipus Tyrannus, the, 264 ff.
Oeneus, 262; 267 ff.
Oeneus, the, 267 ff.
Oenomaus, 269 ff.
Oenomaus, the, 269 f.
Olympic Games, 270
Opheltes, 251 ff.
Orestes, 67; 86 ff.; 140 ff.; 167 ff.
Orestes, the, 167
— much read in Middle Ages, 93
— papyrus manuscripts, 175; 307

Pacuvius, 70
Pacuvius, *Pentheus*, 75
Painting of death of Pentheus, 77
Paintings suggested subjects for tragedies, 77
Palamedes, 271 f.
Palamedes, the, 271 f.
Papyrus with musical notes, 175; 307
Parian Marble, 5; 13
Paris, 188; 214
Pasiphaë, 240
Patriotic plays, 65; 107; 194
Pegasus, 232 ff.
Peleus, 66 f.; 70; 272 f.
Peleus, the, 272 f.
Pelias, 275
Peliades, the, 273 f.
Pelops, 235 ff.; 269 ff.
Pentheus, 71
— in the *Bacchae*, ludicrons, 54
— garbed as woman, 74
Perseus, 217; 243 ff.
Phaedra, 38; 112 ff.
Phaethon, 276 ff.
Phaethon, the, 276 ff.
Phantom Helen, 98
Pharsalus, 66
Phegeus, 209
Pheres, 63
Phileuripides, 19
Philochorus, 2
Philoctetes, 278 ff.
Philoctetes, the, 278 ff.
Phineus, 217 f.
Phoenissae, the, 176
— choruses, 185
— much read in Middle Ages, 93.
Phoenix, 281 f.
Phoenix, the, 281 f.
Phrixus, 282 f.
Phrixus, the 282 f.
Phthia, 281
Piraeus, slab with names of plays, 16
Pirithous, the, 16
Pit of fire, 226
Pleisthenes, 283 f.
Pleisthenes, the, 283 f.
Polydectes, 243, 244 f.
Polydorus, 91 f.
Polygnotus, 201
Polyidus, 145; 284 ff.
Polyidus, the, 284 ff.

Polymestor, 92
Polynices, 178 ff.
Polyphemus, 81
Polyphontes, 239
Polyxena, 91 f.; 198
Porson, 95
Priam, 214
Priestess at Delphi, 133
Procrustes, 288
Proetus, 290 ff.
Prologue,
— its origin, 26
— has a practical purpose, 24
— of the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles, 25
Protagoras, 8
Protesilaus, 286
Protesilaus, the, 286 f.
Proteus, 96
Pylades, 86 ff.; 140 ff.; 169 ff.
Python, 212

Refrain in the *Bacchae*, 79
Rhadamanthys, the, 16
Rhesus, 187
Rhesus, the, 186
— a genuine play, 190 f.
— two prologues in antiquity, 189
Romantic love in Greek tragedy, 220

Sanscrit drama, 20
Satyr drama, 56; 80 ff.; 85; 230 ff.; 234 ff.; 247 ff.; 288 f.; 293 f.
Satyrus papyrus, 3; 308
Scenery, 31
Sciron, 288 f.
Sciron, the 288 f.
Scyrians, the, 289 f.
Secondary chorus, 148; 213
Semele, monument of, 71
Seneca, 107
— *Medea*, the, 164
Seriphus, 244
Serpents, 285
Seven against Thebes, the, 179; 181 f.
Short play, 109
Sicinnis, 82
Silenus, 81
Sisyphus, 230
Sisyphus, the, 26
Sophocles,
— *Hermione*, the, 70
— imitating Euripides, 26
Sphinx, 179
Stage, 23 n.
Stheneboea, 290 ff.
Stheneboea, the, 290 ff.
Supernatural elements, 30; 94
Supernumeraries, 31
Supplementary chorus in the *Hippolytus*, 112
Suppliants, the, 194
Syleus, 294
Syleus, the, 293 f.

Talthybius, 92
Telephus, 295 f.
Telephus, the, 58; 294 ff.
Temenidae, the, 297 f.
Temenus, 226; 297 f.; 299 f.
Temenus, the, 299 f.
Tennes, the, 16
Teucer, 96
Teuthras, 228
Theano, 261
Thebes, 103; 176
Themisto, 254
Theoclymenus, 98
Theristae, the, 300
Theseus, 104; 194 ff.; 204; 301 f.
Theseus, the, 301 f.
Thetis, 273
Thoas, king of Taurians, 141
Thyestes, 284
Thyestes, the, 302
Time of action of the *Suppliants*, 196
Timotheus, 12
Tiresias, 72
Tisamenus, son of Orestes, 299
Tisiphone, 210
Trackers of Sophocles, the, 80
Troades, the, 197

Troades, the, acted in modern times, 200
Troezen, 111
Troy, 197
Tyndareus, 169

Underground passage in theatre at Eretria, 30

Verrall, A. W., 64; 102; 105; 118; 175 f.
Voluntary sacrifice, 110

Wooden Horse, 245
Works of art, 118

Xuthus, 118 ff.

Zethus, 224

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